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Y^ol. 1221 on page 2
Lionel Williams.

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THE HISTORY
OF THE STATE OF
RHODE ISLAND
AND
PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS

BY
THOMAS WILLIAMS BICKNELL, LL. D.

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etc., etc. Member of the American Historical Association; President
of the Rhode Island Citizens' Historical Association.

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THE HISTORY
OF THE
STATE OF RHODE ISLAND
AND
PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS

CHAPTER XXIV

THE ROYAL CHARTER OF 1663, THE FINAL GUAR-
ANTY OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN
AMERICA.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ROYAL CHARTER OF 1663, THE FINAL GUARANTY OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN AMERICA.

Great men and their deeds and great facts of history are liable to lie bedded in the soil of forgetfulness until some resurrective force raises men and facts to the light and life of honest and honorable recognition. Such century plants survive ordinary human achievement and in time find their permanent place in the orders of social and civil life. These principles apply to the Royal Charter of 1663 and its author and procurer, Dr. John Clarke of Aquidneck.

The charter of Rhode Island of 1663 has been universally recognized as the most liberal state paper ever issued by the English Crown. It is remarkable in several particulars, one of which is that it is a confirmation of the Declaration of Breda. The manifesto issued from Breda, in the Netherlands, April, 1660, by Charles the Second, in view of his assuming the English throne. In it he proclaimed a general amnesty for political enemies and offenders and an assurance of religious freedom for all the people of the realm.

We do declare a Liberty to tender consciences: and that no Man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us, for the full granting that indulgence.

CHARLES II, *Rex.*

Still further it gives Royal sanction to the foundation principles of the Aquidneck towns. Yet more, its inner meanings, its scope and its historic references establish the authorship in Dr. John Clarke of Rhode Island Colony. Of all the acts of his distinguished career, the authorship and procuring the Royal Charter are the greatest.

I have in mind to show that the principles of civil and religious liberty as set forth in the democratic constitutions of the several States of our Republic and in the constitution of the United States, were clearly enunciated, set forth and solemnly enacted in the Royal Charter, given to the colony of Rhode Island by King Charles the Second, July 8, 1663. In other words, I propose to show that the rights, privileges and prerogatives of a free commonwealth, under modern constitutional enactments, inherited in and were guaranteed by that charter, and that the Colony of

Rhode Island was to all intents and purposes *de jure*, a free and independent republic, under a strict construction of constitutional jurisprudence, from the 8th of July, 1663.

A few important facts of Rhode Island history in review, will preface my story.

In the year 1636, Roger Williams, banished from Massachusetts Bay Colony, with a few companions, made a Plantation on the banks of the Moshassuck, calling it Providence, and later made territorial purchase of the Narragansetts, styling it Providence Plantations. In 1638, William Coddington and others, likewise banished from Massachusetts Bay Colony, planted at Portsmouth, and, in 1639, Coddington with John Clarke and others planted a town on the south end of Aquidneck, calling it Newport, and the territorial possessions, acquired of the Narragansetts, Rhode Island. In 1644, Samuel Gorton and ten others, having enjoyed a double banishment from Plymouth Colony and Rhode Island Colony, purchased Shawomet, or Warwick, of the Narragansetts, and settled the fourth community, outside the two settlements already made. On the 17th of September, 1644, Mr. Williams, returning from England, landed at Boston with the first charter, constituting "The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay." This state paper, confirming the right and authority of civil government on the United Colony of the four towns, was adopted by them in 1647, when in a General Assembly, held in Newport, in May of that year; a colonial government was organized and John Coggeshall of Newport was chosen president of the colony. The Williams charter omitted all reference to religious concerns.

In 1648 and 1649, William Coddington of Newport was chosen president of the four united towns of the colony. On the execution of Charles the First, and the accession of Cromwell and the Puritan Commonwealth, Coddington sailed to England and obtained a commission as Governor for life of the islands of Aquidneck and Conanicut. This act nullified the charter as to the towns of Newport and Portsmouth, and left Warwick and the plantations with the whole Narragansett country at the mercy of the colonies of Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth. The whole colony was aroused and John Clarke, representing the Aquidneck towns, and Roger Williams the towns of Warwick and Providence were sent to England in 1651 to obtain a recall of Coddington's powers, and the restoration of the charter of 1644, and in 1652 the successful mission of Clarke and Williams was welcomed by the people, —a result largely due to the influence of Sir Harry Vane and John Milton, both ardent friends of the Rhode Island principle. In 1654, Mr. Williams returned to Providence, leaving John Clarke in England to protect the interests of the four towns, again united in one colony.

The death of Cromwell and the accession of Charles the Second in 1660 witnessed a new crisis in our colonial history, when not only our charter rights were destroyed, but even our territorial holdings were put in great jeopardy. The restoration of the Stuarts and the annulment of the acts of the Long Parliament made it necessary for Rhode Island to seek a new charter. The hour for a great diplomat had come, and Dr. John Clarke, the greatest American diplomat of his age, was at the post of duty, as well as danger, in the great emergency, and after long and wearisome debate, fierce and determined opposition from the London agents of Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay Colonies, and malignant personal abuse from unexpected quarters, he secured the signature and seal of Charles the Second on the 8th day of July, 1663, creating in perpetuity the English colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay, New England in America.

Before analyzing the meaning of the Royal Charter it is well to call to mind the several acts that led up to it, for "Heaven is not reached by a single bound." Neither were so great grants of freedom secured and enjoyed without a struggle. The two Bay State migrations to the frontier on Narragansett Bay were singularly unlike in origin and in results. Mr. Williams and his followers at Providence were a group of exiles, moved by local and individual reasons,—*"distressed consciences"* was the term so often and fittingly used by Mr. Williams in their departure from the Bay.

The group of Aquidneck founders was moved by a clearly defined principle, discussed and moulded in the Hutchinson Forum and acted on after well matured convictions that made it a moral necessity to remove to quarters congenial to their established purpose as to civil and religious freedom. All of the 1638 exodus from Boston had conceptions of a free state, fashioned after a new model shown to them in that mount of vision. The Boston Compact of March 4, 1638, was its first written formula. It meant all it said and all that could be implied in so brief an instrument. In the orderly development of their ideal state we find these planters of a new commonwealth proceeding straight forward, bravely, logically, in obedience to law and magistracy. Free government proceeding from the people, wisely intelligent, laws equal and efficient, and the rights of individuals in freedom of worship were the great objectives of the Aquidneck settlers, three hundred strong. At Portsmouth, on territory purchased of the original owners, a free state had its birth in 1638. Here, as stated by Dr. John Clarke, *"we were resolved, through the help of Christ, to get clear of all and be of ourselves."* At Newport, in 1639, Clarke, Coddington and others extended the area of their free institutions to a civil corporation, *"A Bodie Politick,"* illustrating on a larger field the

purposes of the founders of Pocasset. Extending the domain of free institutions to cover free education, a free church under the orderly control of freemen. But this was not enough. For the principle of freedom is centrifugal, co-operative and essentially social in order to establish legitimate Democracy. Hence, in 1640, the two towns unite in a well ordered union styled a "Democracie." This was the purpose of the Aquidneck founders before they left their Boston homes of comparative comfort to brave the hardships and trials of making a wilderness a fit habitation for the institutions of freedom, under organized law.

A Governor, a Deputy Governor, four Assistants, a Secretary, a Treasurer, Sergeants and Constables were elected to govern this first Republic of the World, "a Popular Government." And to make clear their meaning as to "Democracie," "Popular Government," they declare by the pen of their leading statesman, Dr. John Clarke, "THAT IS TO SAY, IT IS IN THE POWRE OF THE BODY OF FREEMEN ORDERLY ASSEMBLED, OR THE MAJOR PART OF THEM, TO MAKE OR CONSTITUTE JUST LAWES, BY WHICH THEY WILL BE REGULATED, AND TO DEPUTE FROM AMONG THEMSELVES SUCH MINISTERS AS SHALL SEE THEM EXECUTED BETWEEN MAN AND MAN." But to add the capsheaf to this unparalleled definition of Civil Liberty, this declaration follows: "IT IS ORDERED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THIS PRESENT GENERAL COURT, THAT NONE BEE ACCOUNTED A DELINQUENT FOR DOCTRINE, PROVIDED IT BE NOT DIRECTLY REPUGNANT TO YE GOVERNMENT OR LAWES ESTABLISHED."

It was given to Mrs. Anne Hutchinson of Boston, to reveal, in her day, the soul's capacity for receiving direct light from God, and to come into spiritual union and communion with Him. The denial of freedom to maintain that revelation cost her and her associates in belief the pains and penalties of banishment. It was given to Dr. John Clarke, also of Boston, and William Coddington and many others, to have a clear vision of a free state, in which each person could enjoy and improve his own ideals of spiritual worship, thereby enlarging the Hutchinson conception to its logical issues and for this Clarke and a great body of men and women were forced to the wilderness, for the enjoyment of their revelation and birthright. The settlements at Portsmouth and Newport and the founding of the Colony of Rhode Island on Aquidneck was the concrete fabric of their civic philosophy and their heart longings. For clearness and completeness of definition, brevity of diction, and absolute reality in application the Rhode Island (Aquidneck) Declaration challenges history for a superior or a prior claim. The Constitution of Hooker, the Philosophy of John Locke, and the Statesmanship of Jefferson and Adams, are all embodied in the Rhode Island Declaration of Civil and Religious Liberty of 1638-1641.

And what was the content of constitutional freedom of the Royal Charter of 1663?

First was the recognition of the absolute right of the Indian tribes to the soil and the guarantee of the Indian titles to estates in fee simple to the original planters of the colony. This was a remarkable concession, in that it annulled all prior claims to Indian lands by right of discovery or conquest as vested in the crown, and established the contracts as made between the settlers and the Narragansetts, as valid and binding on all concerned. The words of the charter are, "and are seized and possessed, by purchase and consent of the said natives, to their full content, of such lands, islands, rivers, harbors, and roads, as are very convenient, etc." By these words all Indian land titles were confirmed and established by royal consent and authority throughout Rhode Island. In other colonies the lands were bestowed by the crown and confirmed by the natives, but here Indian sales were confirmed by the King and as a further grant, the settlers were permitted "to direct, rule, order and dispose of all other matters and things, and particularly that which relates to the making of purchases of the native Indians." These concessions were in answer to the claims of Clarke and Williams, so long maintained, that the Indians were the rightful owners of the soil they occupied.

Next to the perfect guarantee of Indian titles, was the perfect and complete guaranteed political life in a body politic styled "THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE ENGLISH COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, ETC." "that by the same name, they and their successors shall and may have perpetual succession, and shall and may be persons able and capable, in the law to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, to answer and be answered unto, to defend and be defended, etc. * * * as others our liege people of this realm of England, or any corporation or body politic within the same may lawfully do."

This body so ordained contained all the machinery of government, perfect, absolute, complete in and of itself, responsible for its acts and so constituted as to fulfill all the functions of self-protection and defense.

Still further, to set this complicated machinery of state in order and motion, "We will and ordain, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, do declare and appoint that for the better ordering and managing of the affairs and business of the said company, and their successors, there shall be one Governor, one deputy Governor and 10 assistants, to be from time to time, constituted, elected and chosen, out of the freemen of the said company, for the time being, in such manner and form as is hereafter in these presents expressed, which said officers shall apply themselves to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the general

business and affairs of and concerning the lands, and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned to be granted, and the plantation thereof, and the government of the people there. And, for the better execution of our royal pleasure herein, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, assign, name, constitute, and appoint the aforesaid Benedict Arnold to be the first and present Governor of the said company, and the said William Brenton to be deputy governor, with ten assistants therein named, to continue in office until the first Wednesday in May, next coming. And forever thereafter the major part of the freeman shall elect assistants and deputies semi-annually, to a meeting or assembly to be called The General Assembly, to consult, advise and determine, in and about the affairs and business of the said company and plantations."

Here was American democracy pure and simple.

First, the freemen whose qualifications were determinable by the body politic, the corporation of Rhode Island. Suffrage, by this instrument, was limited only, as to-day, by the will of the people. No word as to manhood or womanhood suffrage, no property qualification, no reference to native or foreign born—simply the freemen.

Further, "the major part of the freemen of the respective towns," elected their representatives. Here we have the great law of majority rule in elections, which has held sway in town and state legislative procedure for three centuries. The Rhode Island town is here recognized as the unit of political institutions and the purest illustration of popular government of, for and by the people.

The General Assembly as above constituted and elected by the freemen, in town meeting assembled, was granted full power and authority "from time to time and at all times hereafter to appoint, alter and change such days, times and places of meeting and General Assembly as they shall think fit; and to choose, nominate and appoint such and so many other persons as they shall think fit, and shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said company and body politic, and then into the same to admit; and to elect and constitute such offices and officers and to grant such needful commissions, as they shall think fit and requisite, for the ordering, managing and dispatching of the affairs of the said Governor and company, and their successors; and from time to time to make, ordain, constitute or repeal such laws, statutes, orders and ordinances, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy as to them shall seem meet for the good and welfare of the said company, and for the government and ordering of the lands and hereditaments, hereinafter mentioned to be granted, and of the people that do, or at any time hereafter shall inhabit or be within the same; so as such laws, ordinances and constitutions, so made, be not contrary and repugnant unto, but as near as may

be, agreeable to the laws of this our realm of England, considering the nature and constitution of the place and people there, and also to regulate and order the way and manner of all elections to offices and places of trust, and to prescribe, limit and distinguish the numbers and bounds of all places, towns or cities within the limits and bounds hereinafter mentioned, and not herein particularly named, who have, or shall have, the power of electing and sending of freemen to the said General Assembly; and also to order, direct and authorize the imposing of lawful and reasonable fines, mulcts, imprisonments and executing other punishments, pecuniary and corporal, upon offenders and delinquents, etc., according to the course of other corporations in the English realm."

The General Assembly was "to appoint, order and direct, erect and settle such places and courts of jurisdiction, for the hearing and determining of all actions, cases, matters and things, happening within the said colony and plantation, and which shall be in dispute, and depending there, as they shall think fit and also to distinguish and set for the several names and titles, duties, powers and limits, of each court, office and officer, superior and inferior; and also to contrive and appoint such forms of oaths and attestations, not repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable, as aforesaid, to the laws and statutes of this our realm, as are convenient and requisite with respect to the due administration of justice, and due execution and discharge of all offices and places of trust by the persons that shall be therein concerned."

Religious liberty was confirmed and forever established in the remarkable utterances, the leading declaration of which appears in a prior letter from Dr. John Clarke to Charles II, under date of 1662. This letter sets at rest forever the authorship of the sentiment cut in marble in the façade of the State House, and so often credited to Roger Williams. It is a monument to the greatness of Dr. John Clarke.

AND WHEREAS, IN THEIR HUMBLE ADDRESS, THEY HAVE FREELY DECLARED, THAT IT IS MUCH ON THEIR HEARTS (IF THEY MAY BE PERMITTED) TO HOLD FORTH A LIVELY EXPERIMENT, THAT A MOST FLOURISHING CIVIL STATE MAY STAND AND BEST BE MAINTAINED, AND THAT AMONG OUR ENGLISH SUBJECTS, WITH A FULL LIBERTY IN RELIGIOUS CONCERNMENTS; AND THAT TRUE PIETY RIGHTLY GROUNDED UPON GOSPEL PRINCIPLES, WILL GIVE THE BEST AND GREATEST SECURITY TO SOVEREIGNTY, AND WILL LAY IN THE HEARTS OF MEN THE STRONGEST OBLIGATIONS TO TRUE LOYALTY: NOW, know ye, that we, being willing to encourage the hopeful undertaking of our said loyal and loving subjects, and to secure them in the free exercise and enjoyment of all their civil and religious rights, appertaining to them, as our loving subjects; and to preserve unto them that liberty, in the true Christian faith and worship of God, which they have sought with so much travail, and with peaceable minds, and loyal subjection to our royal progenitors and ourselves to enjoy; and because some of the people

and inhabitants of the same colony cannot, in their private opinions, conform to the public exercise of religion, according to the liturgy, forms and ceremonies of the Church of England, or take or subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf; and for that the same, by reason of the remote distances of those places, will (as we hope) be no breach of the unity and uniformity established in this nation: Have therefore thought fit, and do hereby publish, grant, ordain and declare, That our royal will and pleasure is, that no person within the said colony, at any time hereafter shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, and do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concerns, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others, any law, statute, or clause therein contained, or to be contained, usage or custom of this realm, to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding.

In this declaration as to rights of conscience in religious concerns, Dr. Clarke quotes from the famous letter of Charles the Second to the Commons, known as the Declaration of Breda, April 4-14, 1660, in which he affirms "that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

Other valuable privileges and concessions were granted, but enough have been presented to show that the Rhode Island government was clothed with all the powers and prerogatives of a free, democratic republic. Territorial rights, citizenship, freemanship, the franchise, administrative assemblies, a representative government, an unrestricted law-making power, an independent judiciary, freedom of speech, of political action, of conscience, or religious faith, were granted to Rhode Island by the sovereign grace of Charles the Second, the founder and friend of a free colony, under the broad imperial aegis of Great Britain.

On so broad a platform of constitutional rights, the colony of Rhode Island stood the freest commonwealth in principle and practice on the face of the earth. So broad, so practical, so efficient were the provisions of this great charter of human rights and of constitutional government that it stood all the needs of a Colonial life, a period of 113 years, and then served the needs of a State Constitution within the Federal Republic for 67 years—a total of 180 years,—the oldest of all.

This charter was the fruit of twelve years of toil of Dr. John Clarke in England, during which time he had expended all of his available funds, and had mortgaged his private property to promote the object he had in hand.

But the object of his mission was attained; the charter was secure and his title to be known as the greatest benefactor of the Colony was fully earned. I firmly believe that there was not then a better balanced mind than Clarke's in all America, and Rhode Island never had a more devoted friend.—*Centennial Historical Address at Newport, July 4, 1876.*—HON. WILLIAM P. SHEFFIELD.

Our State Historian Arnold says of it:

Under it the state was an absolute sovereignty with powers to make its own laws, religious freedom was guaranteed, and no oath of allegiance was required. Rhode Island became in fact, as well as in name, an independent state from that day.

The extent of the power conferred by this charter is indeed surprising. The military arm, always relied upon as the distinctive barrier of the throne, is formally and fully surrendered to the people, in this instrument, even to the extreme point of declaring martial law—a grant, which in repeated cases, the government of Rhode Island successfully defended in later years against the threats and the arguments of the royal governors of New England.

With this charter, serving as the basis of government, rather than prescribing its form, the state led the way in the final struggle for national independence.

Rev. Dr. S. Adlam, a successor of Dr. Clarke in the pastorate of the John Clarke Memorial Church of Newport, in an address before the Newport Historical Society, in 1871, ably advocated the claims of Dr. John Clarke as the founder of civil and religious liberty instead of Roger Williams. He said:

The charter obtained by Clarke had for its central principle **FREEDOM, ESPECIALLY RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, SECURED BY FUNDAMENTAL LAW.** * * * Roger Williams had nothing to do with procuring that charter. It was by the skill, energy and perseverance of Clarke, that that priceless gift was obtained. * * * It was the Island and not Roger Williams that became the law-giver of Rhode Island.

Henry Cabot Lodge in his *History of English Colonies in America*, who wittingly holds the ancient Massachusetts animus as to our colonial government says:

Clarke was an adroit and an able man; * * * Clarke's charter soon after passed the seals and the Governor and Company of Rhode Island were fairly incorporated. This charter was drawn in the most liberal terms possible—establishing a purely popular elective government—while it bore marks of its author in its provision that no one should be molested for any religious opinion, if the peace was kept.

To Bancroft, our greatest American historian, belongs the honor of bestowing upon the Rhode Island charter of 1663, the first position as a

state paper among the records of civilized men, and of according to Dr. John Clarke, the agent of the Colony of Rhode Island and the author of the immortal document, enduring words of praise.

After referring to the remarkably liberal charter of the Colony of Connecticut of 1662, he writes:

Rhode Island was fostered by Charles II with still greater liberality. When Roger Williams had succeeded in obtaining from the Long Parliament the confirmed union of the territories that now constitute the state, he returned to America (1654) leaving John Clarke as the agent of the colony in England. Never did a young commonwealth possess a more faithful friend; and never did a young people cherish a fonder desire for the enfranchisement of mind.

"Plead our case, they had said to him in previous instructions which Gorton and others had drafted, in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's conscience; we do judge it no less than a point of absolute cruelty." * * * The good-natured monarch listened to their petition; Clarendon exerted himself in their behalf; the making trial of religious freedom in a nook of a remote continent could not appear dangerous; it might at once build up another rival to Massachusetts and solve a problem in the history of man. * * *

This charter of government, establishing a political system which few besides the Rhode Islanders themselves then believed to be practicable, remained in existence till it became the oldest constitutional charter in the world. * * * Nowhere in the world were life, liberty and property safer than in Rhode Island.

He calls Dr. John Clarke, "the modest and virtuous Clarke, the persevering and disinterested envoy," who "parted with his little means for the public good"; and "left a name on which no one can cast a shade."

And so it came to pass in the reign of Charles II, King of England, to wit, in 1663, through the intercession of Dr. John Clarke, Envoy Extraordinary from the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, for 12 years, from 1651;

- That the boundaries of the colony were clearly defined;
- That the Indian deeds of lands were confirmed;
- That the estate of freemen was confirmed;
- That civil government was vested in this democratic estate;
- That a *de facto* government was established and set up;
- That the law-making power was vested in an elective body, styled the General Assembly;
- That a judiciary was created for the determination of justice;
- That a military force was ordained for defense;
- That martial law was vested in the executive;
- That freedom of worship and of conscience was made the basis of individual rights;

And, all under the laws, ordinances and constitutions, "agrecable to the laws of this our realm of England, considering the nature and constitution of the people there." And these things and more were embodied in that great instrument, the Royal Charter; were the inherent elements of our Declaration of Independence, and have been the foundations of the civil state we love and honor.

Had Dr. John Clarke of Newport no other claim to the first place among the founders of American Colonies, the Royal Charter of 1663 would confer that honor.



CHAPTER XXV

KING PHILIP'S WAR

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KING PHILIP'S WAR.

King Philip's War, so tremendously destructive to the New England colonies, in human life and property, was the sequel of the Pequot War, although separated from it in time by almost forty years. In general it may be said that the causes and grievances leading up to the two wars were the same, although conditions were materially altered. The chief sachems of the Wampanoags and the Narragansetts, Massassoit, Canonicus and Miantonomi, were dead, as were most of the leading colonists of the earlier Indian War. Roger Williams, now an old man, had lost his influence over the Narragansetts and Wampanoags. Philip, the chief sachem of the Wampanoags, forgetting the alliance made by his father with Plymouth Colony, and nursing the trials of land losses and the restrained freedom of savage life, was the leader of the great movement for the extermination of the white settlements of New England. The Pequot motive now possessed all the Indian tribes from the Hudson to the St. Croix rivers, and the terrible acts of Indian savagery fell with terrific force on the scattered settlements in the Maine forests, the promising towns and villages of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island and the peaceful settlers on the banks of the Connecticut.

Philip's War was an irrepressible conflict. From the nature and circumstances of the combatants it could not have been avoided. The clash between civilization and barbarism must come and for the safety of the Colonial life it was most fortunate that it came in 1675 rather than in 1637. Had the Narragansetts united with the Pequots in the earlier contest, the weak and struggling Colonies could not have held their own against their savage foes. A wonder-working Providence wrought, through Roger Williams as its agent, confusion in the plans of Sassacus and saved the embryo settlements from effacement.

In 1675, the New England colonists numbered 50,000 settlers, almost wholly English stock of the yeoman and middle classes, with a few merchants from Devon and Dorset. The clergy and the political and social leaders were educated men, many of them graduates of Cambridge and Oxford Universities. Industry was the law of life for the farmer and the tradesman. A rigid economy ensured a protecting roof and a simple but nourishing cuisine for every family. Puritan orthodoxy of various shades and potency held sway over the mental and moral life of the people and the Puritan clergy, always deploring the sins and shortcomings of the churches, was at the acme of its influence over New England

life. Boston, then as now, the metropolis of New England, had between 4000 and 5000 inhabitants, and was the leading port of commerce and of immigration on the Eastern Coast north of New York. The total population of this section was divided among about ninety towns, four of which were in Rhode Island, twelve in Plymouth, twenty-two in Connecticut and the others in the Bay Colony. The Connecticut towns occupied the fertile river valleys. The Rhode Island towns were snugly located on Narragansett Bay, and the Massachusetts towns were separated by varying distances, Dedham and Concord being respectfully ten and sixteen miles from Boston, Weymouth ten miles, while Hadley and Northampton and Agawam, now Springfield, were the most remote and exposed frontier towns, with Brookfield, Lancaster, Mendon and Marlboro on the main inland Indian trail from the Connecticut Valley to the sea on the east. Each settlement was compacted at a chosen centre with its church as the central post of worship and defence. In some towns, a stockade had been erected for protection against Indian invasion. The early log houses had, in the older settlements, given place to framed buildings, plastered and covered with shaved clap-boards. Militia companies were formed in each town, and all able-bodied men were enrolled under a captain, a lieutenant and a corporal. The match-lock musket was the chief instrument of offensive and defensive combat. Whittier in "The Exiles," tells us:

"Down from his cottage wall he caught
The *matchlock* hotly tried
At Prestonpans and Marston Moor
By fiery Cretan's side."

In general it may be said that the Colonists had wrested from wilderness conditions and a stubborn soil and climate a large acreage of farmsteads and a comfortable livelihood, after a half century of persevering, self-sacrificing toil. Palfrey suggests that a retrograde step in the direction of lower conditions of life might have been naturally expected in the second generation of New England Colonists. But instead of a decline in any of the elements of civilization there had been a real advance along all lines of human activities. Town governments were well administered, schools were established, meeting houses built, the Puritan clergy properly supported. The simple and healthful forms of democracy were adopted in the social and civil life and the general spirit of unity among the peoples of English stock foretold a confederacy of a new type in New England.

Into this hopeful condition of society Philip's War projected itself as a destroyer of peace, property and life, converting every house into a fortress and every man and woman and child into a warrior defender.

There has been no darker history in New England or Rhode Island history than that of Philip's War, and no sadder experiences befell the early settlers than during the bloody epoch of 1675-6. Of King Philip, leader of the Wampanoags, the Narragansetts and other confederated tribes in this frightful war, it may be said most truthfully that he was the greatest Indian warrior of whom we have record. His control of his own tribe was complete and unquestioned and his alliance with Canonchet and the Narragansetts was a piece of remarkable Indian diplomacy. The chiefs of both tribes were obliged to set aside signed treaty obligations with all the Colonies and to set at defiance power and friendship of men who had been their protectors in earlier days, like Williams, Clarke, Coddington and the younger Winthrop. Philip's shrewdness, sagacity and cunning in his dealings with the whites were unequaled in Indian strategy. His skill and diplomacy in uniting tribes, some of which had been his life-long enemies, show a power of organization and control equal to, if not superior, to that of statesmen and warriors of superior races. His strong friendship shielded many of his benefactors in the time of their greatest peril, while his revenge was a cyclone of terror, that swept all before it. His campaigns were short, sharp, decisive. His coolness and courage in battle made Philip the natural leader of the savage forces, while his caution protected him in ambush or in flight. The tomahawk, the scalping knife and the torch were his usual weapons, and stood him in the same stead as the rifle, the bayonet and the cannon of modern warfare.

Let us remember that Philip was a savage with the nature, the instincts, the traditions, the education and the association of savage races for untold generations. He found himself in a corner of the old Wampanoag broad possessions, shut out from the tribal hunting grounds and shut in to the narrow peninsula of Consumpsit or Mt. Hope Neck, now Bristol, Rhode Island. His young warriors clamored for the freedom of the chase, and the wild life of their fathers in wigwam and forest, made familiar to them in Indian song and story. Instead of the wild game roamed the contented kine of the white man. "The five rayle fence" of the Swansea settler obstructed the feet and the vision of the Indian hunter. Philip was the sachem and as such the servant of his tribe. Their restraints and wrongs were his and the democracy of Indian communities and tribes made the major opinion the tribal verdict. What wonder then that Philip was restless, "cabined, cribbed, confined," chafing under the unusual harness. What wonder that he sought to make friendly relations with the Narragansetts, whose complainings were as earnest and whose wrongs at the hands of the Bay Colony had been more severe and distressing. Philip was a slave on his own soil, although with his own hands he had unwittingly wrought the chains that bound him.

The free spirit of the Indian compelled him to make a manly, a supreme effort for freedom; even if that freedom involved the destruction of the settlements he had encouraged by sale of land, and the extermination of colonies, bound to his father's tribal government by solemn treaty, and an alliance, offensive and defensive. What Philip sought was the *status quo ante*,—the condition that existed on the red man's soil before the white man had occupied it. The alternative was his own extermination by the white man's rifle,—freedom or death. He chose the latter in his struggle for the former. Death was sweeter than civilization. For Philip and his immediate associates scarcely a twelvemonth had elapsed before their doom was sealed, but the conflict, entered upon with the first war-whoop at Mt. Hope, Rhode Island, in 1675, did not end until the close of the French and Indian War, nearly a century later.

While King Philip's War was not, in its leadership, a Rhode Island war, it may have been in its inception and was in the alliance of the Narragansetts with the Wampanoags. So far as its far reaching motif extended it was a New England or an eastern war, and became finally an international war between the French and the English Colonies in North America. It is probable that the cool-blooded, unjustifiable murder of Miantonomi, sachem of the Narragansetts, in 1643, by order of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was one of more remote causes that called for Indian revenge at a remote day, and may be cited in proof of the statement that an honest Indian never forgot to remember a favor or a friend and to return evil for evil on an enemy.

King Philip's justification of his course in making war on the colonists is an eloquent and truthful defence of his acts and a fitting valedictory in the career of a brave and an unconquered warrior, and is worthy a place in our history. Mr. Arnold calls it "the death song of Metacomet, chanted on the site of his ancestral home, before plunging into the fatal strife that was to end only with his life, and to seal forever the fortune of his race." King Philip said:

The English who came first to this country were but an handful of people, forlorn, poor and distressed. My father was then sachem. He relieved their distresses in the most kind and hospitable manner. He gave them land to build and plant upon. He did all in his power to serve them. Others of their countrymen came and joined them. Their numbers rapidly increased. My father's counsellors became uneasy and alarmed lest, as they were possessed of firearms, which was not the case of the Indians, they should finally undertake to give law to the Indians, and take from them their country. They therefore advised him to destroy them before they should become too strong, and it should be too late. My father was also the father of the English. He represented to his counsellors and warriors that the English knew many sciences which the

Indians did not; that they improved and cultivated the earth, and raised cattle and fruits, and that there was sufficient room in the country for both the English and the Indians. His advice prevailed. It was concluded to give victuals to the English. They flourished and increased. Experience taught that the advice of my father's counsellors was right. By various means they got possessed of a great part of his territory. But he still remained their friend until he died. My elder brother became sachem. They pretended to suspect him of evil designs against them. He was seized and confined, and thereby thrown into sickness and died. Soon after I became sachem they disarmed all my people. They tried my people by their own laws and assessed damages against them which they could not pay. Their land was taken. At length a line of division was agreed upon between the English and my people, and I myself was to be responsible. Sometimes the cattle of the English would come into the cornfields of my people, for they did not make fences like the English. I must then be seized and confined till I sold another tract of my country for satisfaction of all damages and costs. But a small part of the dominion of my ancestors remains. I am determined not to live till I have no country.

This was King Philip's valedictory to the English colonists, as translated into our tongue by a friendly white man, who endeavored to dissuade him from his fatal but patriotic decision.

It is our purpose in this chapter to present the main features of the movements that led to the first overt act of hostility at Swansea, Massachusetts, June 20, O. S., 1675. We shall then deal with the events of the war that occurred on Rhode Island territory. Before taking up this story, it may be stated that Rhode Island was not a member of the New England Confederacy and was in no way responsible for the hostilities occasioned by the other Colonies. She did all in her power to avert the war, public affairs being under the control of a Quaker government, with William Coddington, senior, a Quaker Governor, presiding, but after the war had begun the Colony sent men and provisions in aid of the sister Colonies. Still more, Newport was made the city of refuge for terrorized peoples of our own and other Colonies, and no harm befell any who made their escape to Aquidneck, as no Indian attack was made on that Island.

The early spring months of 1675 found King Philip busily at work with the Narragansetts, the Nipmucs and the Connecticut river tribes in co-operation with him in his intended war on the English Colonies in New England. The execution of the three Wampanoag Indians at Plymouth for the murder of Sassamon, enraged Philip and hastened the blow he was preparing. Reports of the shooting of cattle, the stealing of corn, the robbing of houses and the burning of buildings reached the ears of the Colonial Governors. The Indian warriors were defiant, strange Indians were swarming into Philip's villages and his women and children

were sent to the Narragansetts. The settlers were alarmed and saw portents in the skies that forboded war. Mather tells us that many heard the thunder of hoofs of horses carrying invisible horsemen, and bullets fired from no earthly weapons whistled through the air.

The Colony of Rhode Island, alarmed at Indian activities, sent Deputy Governor Easton, Samuel Gorton and four others on a mission of arbitration to treat with Philip at Mt. Hope. King Philip and his chiefs met the pacifist delegates at Bristol and recited the wrongs they had received from the whites, and urged the golden rule that the English should now treat the Indian, in his weakness, as the Indian had treated the English in their great needs. The Rhode Island delegates urged them not to make war on the whites, for the English would surely conquer. King Philip's attitude was that of a warrior, content to make the sacrifice of himself and his nation, as a protest against real or fancied wrongs.

On June 15, 1675, we are introduced to Capt. Benjamin Church, of Little Compton, Rhode Island, the great Indian fighter. Church, now in his prime, having been born at Plymouth, 1639, a carpenter by trade, moving after his marriage to Little Compton, was invited by Awashonks, squaw sachem of the Sakonet tribe to a ceremonious dance, in honor of six ambassadors from Philip, her war-lord, sent to secure her co-operation in the war. Telling Church of their mission, he advised Awashonks to slay her Indian guests and betake herself to the English, which she declined to do. Two days later Capt. Church met at Pocasset, Peter Nunnuit, husband of Weetamoo, widow of Alexander, Philip's brother. Peter told Capt. Church that he had just come from a war-dance at Mt. Hope, in which, Indians from all the Wampanoag tribes had participated, that war was sure, and that Philip had been forced to promise the young warriors "that on the next Lord's Day, when the English were gone to meeting, they should level their houses and from that time forward kill their cattle." Nunnuit also told Church that Capt. James Browne of Wannamoisett and Samuel Gorton of Warwick were at Mount Hope with messages of peace and arbitration from the Governor of Plymouth.

On Monday, June 21, Gov. Leverett of Massachusetts, on information from Gov. Winslow of Plymouth as to the attitude of King Philip sent Capt. Edward Hutchinson, Seth Perry and William Powers on a mission to the Narragansetts to secure their neutrality at least in the threatening conditions of war. On their way, they stopped at Providence and secured Roger Williams as an associate to aid them in their purpose. At the conference at Narragansett, Pessacus, Canonchet and Ninigret gave an apparent consent to neutrality and the commission returned to Boston apparently satisfied with the results. Mr. Williams, knowing the Indian character, wrote to Winthrop, on June 27, that their friendly answers

were "words of falsehood and treachery," as they proved to be. Pessacus confessed later that he could not restrain the young warriors in the fever of a war of revenge for the death of Miantonomi. The independent tribes of the Nipmucs were prepared for the war path. They looked to Philip for the command and the initial act of bloodshed and they had not long to wait.

The attack on the Swansea settlements struck terror to the hearts of all the Colonists. For a generation they had cultivated the arts of peace. Capt. Myles Standish slept at Duxbury. The war spirit of the early day no longer prevailed. The scattered settlements afforded no mutual protection for the white man, while their widely separated communities invited the special methods of Indian warfare. The forests were the home of the Indians, their hiding place, their fortress, darkness their protector, the dead of night their hour of bloody raids, the rifle and torch their chief instruments of attack, the tomahawk and scalping knife the instruments of awful torture and murder. What wonder that strong men shuddered and that women and children spent the days in constant watching for an unseen foe and the night in sleepless anxiety lest that should be their last. Of the number of warriors engaged in King Philip's War, various estimates have been made, varying from 3500 to 8000. Probably 5000 would be a nearly correct figure. Of this number, the Wampanoags mustered over 1000, the Nipmucs and the Connecticut river tribes 1500, the Narragansetts 1500 and the Maine tribes the balance. The Mohegans made a friendly alliance with the English, and although a weak tribe, contributed a measure of protection to the Connecticut Colony. The rapid movements of the Indians and the swift and often complete destruction of white settlements helped to magnify in the minds of the Colonists their numbers and prowess.

Following the raid of June 20, 1675, on the Swansea settlers and the massacre at the Bourne Garrison, Philip fled from Mt. Hope to Pocasset, uniting his warriors with those of Weetamoo to carry on an active offense in Plymouth Colony. Philip avoided engagements with the troops but directed his men to make their attacks under cover of darkness, fire the settlers' cabins, butcher the families and escape to the dark shelters of the forest for protection by day. Seekonk, Middleboro, Taunton and Dartmouth were visited and in part destroyed. At Mendon six were slain, Brookfield was wasted by fire and slaughter. In the autumn of 1675, the towns of the Connecticut Valley received the terrific blows of the united Indian forces. Whately, Deerfield, Northfield, Springfield, Hatfield, Westfield, Longmeadow, Hadley and other settlements in Hampden county, were almost blotted out by fire and massacre. But

few white men escaped the bloody carnival of death. As the autumn advanced the war tragedy began in Maine and at Casco, Portland, Saco, Winter Harbor, Wells, Cape Porpoise, the Saco and Androscoggin tribes attempted to wipe out the white settlements in southeastern seacoast towns.

In February, 1676, the towns of Lancaster, Medfield, Weymouth, Marlboro, were attacked by Philip, and later Sudbury, Groton, Concord, Chelmsford, Andover, Ipswich, Hingham, Haverhill, Bradford, Woburn and Cambridge in Massachusetts, and of New Hampshire towns, Dover, Exeter, Hampton, Salmon Falls, and others suffered more or less from the savage warfare. In several of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire towns the stockades offered protection from their foes. As the story of these incursions are exterritorial to our State history, an account will be found in the town histories and in a complete review of King Philip's War by several reputable historians.

During the autumn months of 1675, it became clear that the pledge made to Mr. Williams and the Massachusetts delegates by the Narragansetts in July had been violated, and they were charged not only with harboring the women and children of the Wampanoags, but with taking an active part in the battles, some of their young warriors having returned home with musket wounds. Tradition has it that when the Commissioners demanded of Canonchet a surrender of the Wampanoags he was sheltering, he replied in a stern and an angry temper, "No, not a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail." That reply meant war with the Narragansetts and was a broad challenge for the English to engage in it at once. The Commissioners met at Boston, November 2, and without further negotiations declared war against the Narragansetts, as accessories to King Philip "in the present bloody outrages of the barbarious Indians, in harboring the actors," and in other acts of hostility at and about the Smith Garrison at Narragansett. The 2nd of December was named as a day of humiliation and prayer.

The United Colonies now resolved to equip an army of a thousand men to attack the Indians in their winter fort, at Narragansett. This act of the Commissioners was clearly an invasion of the rights of the Colony of Rhode Island as set forth in the Royal Charter. By that instrument, Rhode Island could not invade the natives inhabiting other Colonies, nor could other Colonies molest the natives of Rhode Island without "the consent of the Governor and Company of our Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." The only justifiable excuse for the act must be sought and may be found in the common danger that threatened the very existence of all the Colonies and the questioned tenure of the Rhode Island Colony over the Narragansett country.

As we have already seen, the other New England Colonies, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Plymouth, had laid claim to a part or the whole of the Narragansett country, including Warwick as far north as Providence Plantations and ten years later that section was made into a separate Colony under the authority of the King. However that may be, Colonial courtesy was not regarded in the war plans of the other Colonies and Mr. Williams' influence or service was not called for in the operations against the Narragansetts. Troops were raised in Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut Colonies, and, early in December, the whole army, consisting of thirteen companies of infantry and one of cavalry, was placed under the command of Governor Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth Colony, son of a former Governor, Edward Winslow. The Colonial sub-officers were Major Samuel Appleton, of Boston; Major William Bradford, of Plymouth, and Major Robert Treat, of Connecticut. Colonel Benjamin Church acted as aide to Governor Winslow, volunteering his services for the Rhode Island campaign. Governor Winslow took command of the combined forces at Dedham, Massachusetts, December 9, 1675. Massachusetts furnished five hundred and seventy-five soldiers, including Captain Prentice's troop of seventy-five horse. The objective of this military expedition was the capture of the Narragansett fort and the conquest of the tribe. Governor Winslow promised the troops a gratuity in land in addition to their pay for their services in the Narragansett campaign. The whole body of the army set out from Dedham, Governor Winslow in command, December 9, and pitched their camp at night at Woodcock's Garrison, in Attleboro. On December 10 the troops marched to Seekonk, where they found Richard Smith's vessel in the Pawtucket River, which had brought their provisions, ammunition, and other supplies by water. A part of the troops with Governor Winslow and Captain Church as guide sailed the next day for the Narragansett country to make their camp at Smith's Garrison. The remainder of the troops ferried the river to Providence, crossed the Pawtuxet into Warwick in the hope of capturing Pumham, sachem of Shawomet. Owing to a blunder of the scouts they failed of their purpose. On December 13 the troops marching from Providence, reached Smith's Garrison, where they joined the party that had reached there by water and all went into camp.

The Colonial troops were here re-enforced by recruits from Rhode Island, as the common and extreme danger had aroused the white settlers on the Bay, though the government took no direct action, leaving all to the Council of War of the Colony. Governor Winslow set the troops at work in scouring the country to discover and slay or capture Indians and destroy wigwams. On the 14th the troops captured or slew about an hundred Indians and destroyed one hundred and fifty wigwams within a radius of fifteen miles of the garrison. On the 15th of December, the

first overt act of Indian hostility occurred when a party of Narragansetts, on their way to Canonicus' Fort, attacked the Jireh Bull Garrison at Pettaquamscut, forced a passage and slew fifteen men of the force, only two making their escape. The Connecticut troops, on their way from Stonington to join the allies at Smith's Garrison, passed the garrison at Pettaquamscut the day after the massacre and joined Governor Winslow's command on the 18th. This new force was made up of three hundred Englishmen and one hundred friendly Mohegans. The 18th of December was spent in perfecting plans for an immediate advance on the Narragansett forces at the Fort located on a slight eminence in the Great Swamp, about fifteen miles west of the Smith Garrison. That night the troops encamped in the open air. The weather was bitter cold and the men were almost smothered in a storm of snow. At the dawn of the Sabbath, December 19, the Colonials, a thousand and more strong, under command of Governor Josiah Winslow, accompanied by Captain Benjamin Church, of Little Compton, as military advisor, and guided by Peter Freeman, a captive Indian, began their difficult march along the Indian trail leading to the Great Swamp. The fresh snow, ankle deep, concealed the difficulties of the tramp through the forests, so that it was one o'clock of the afternoon when they reached the borders of the swamp where they were told 3500 Indian warriors were waiting the attack of the English. The troops were weary from the long march through the snow, but refreshed by food and a plentiful supply of "strong water," they became hot for the fight and led by a renegade savage, they pursued the retreating red men to their fort, located on a small island in the midst of a great forest. It included several acres of slightly elevated land, protected by heavy palisades and compassed with a hedge, a rod thick. The principal entrance to the fort was by a log bridge, which was protected by numerous flankers commanding the approaches with cross fires. The Massachusetts troops in advance, quickly discovered the one weak point in the fort, where an unfinished stockade, unprotected by abattis had been filled in with a large tree. "Wherefor the Providence of Almighty God," says Hibbard, "is the more to be acknowledged. * * * So it now directs our forces upon that side of the fort where they might only enter." The troops rushed forward, charging the entrance but were met with a deadly fire, front and flank. Captains Johnson, Davenport and Gardiner fell dead at the entrance, with many of their men. The men drew back from the murderous fire until Major Appleton, leading a new squad of Massachusetts men dashed forward with the shout, "They run, they run," when the whole body, in a wild rush, stormed the entrance and drove the Indians out of the flankers, the Connecticut troops, in their way through the breach, losing four brave captains, Gallop, Marshall, Seeley and Mason.

The fight was now at close range within the fort and the issue seemed in doubt, until an English torch set fire to the wigwams and the wind swept a fire of death across the fort. Five hundred wigwams, stores of corn and provisions, clothing, utensils and many men, women and children perished in the flames, while three hundred warriors were slain and twice that number of Indians made captive. Canonchet, the chief sachem of the tribe, son of the great Miantonomi, who was in command of the garrison, retreated with his defeated braves to the forest, where they continued their fire on the English troops within and without the fort. Captain Church was wounded late in the fight.

Darkness coming on, Governor Winslow gathered the surviving commanders about him and by the light of the burning wigwams held a council to decide on camping in the fort or returning with their dead and wounded to the Smith Garrison. Six captains and more than twenty comrades were dead and one hundred and fifty wounded men were on their hands, demanding tender care. In the long debate, Captain Church strongly urged the troops to remain at the fort, where the wounded could be cared for and the weary find food and rest, for the night at least. On the other hand it was urged that food and ammunition were well nigh spent, that the Narragansetts, scattered in the forests, might return to attack them in the morning, and that their wounded men would be safer in a march to the garrison, than to risk an Indian ambushade, and the final decision was that it was safer and wiser to return.

The nineteenth of December, 1675, will stand for all time as the most memorable, the most heroic day in New England history. The Narragansetts were the strongest of the Indian tribes of this section and as warriors had high renown. Canonchet, their chief sachem, had made a bold resolve to fight and dared the English to the conflict of arms. The English accepted the challenge and sent a thousand well armed men, the flower of the Colonies, under the command of the Governor of Plymouth Colony, guided and advised by the great Indian fighter, Captain Benjamin Church, to discover and fight their foe. At Smith's Garrison, at Narragansett, General Winslow learned that the enemy had chosen the great swamp fort as their defense, where was gathered a strong force under Canonchet and King Philip. The Pilgrim leader chose the Sabbath as the day of battle and, at early dawn, the Colonial troops, after a sleepless night, under a blanket of snow, took up the forest trail to the Indian camp, fifteen miles westward. The story of the Great Swamp Fight for four hours on that fateful Sunday afternoon is too tragic to attempt details. It was a struggle for life on the part of both. Defeat meant death to one. The fate of the New England Colonies hung in the trem-

bling balances. Civilized and savage fought with the fury of fiends. No imagination can conceive, no pen describe the scenes on that field of carnage and death. The heroic charge, the slaughter and repulse; a second brave rush to meet a foe fired with revengeful passion, dealing death with every instrument of Indian warfare; the savage yells; the Amazonian warriors vying with the men in defence of children and home; the final deadly assault, the alliance of blazing wigwams as instruments of awful destruction, the death grapple, the fall of captains and men and brave warriors on one mound of death, were parts of the awful scene enacted on Rhode Island soil, between noon and dusk of that cold winter day. It was the day of conflict, the day of salvation for New England. The deed was recorded in letters of blood and fire. The English lost six captains and the killed and wounded numbered over two hundred brave men. The Indian losses were unknown, but by report exceeded four hundred killed including one sachem and seven hundred more dying of their wounds. The pathos of the tragedy follows. The gloom of night succeeds and under cover of darkness, the patriot army, weary from the morning march to the battlefield, wearied to the extreme by the superhuman struggle of four hours of dreadful conflict, now decides to retrace the morning trail to the Garrison at Narragansett. Such a task was impossible for mortals; but it must be done. Twenty corpses of dead comrades must be left as food for Indian orgies. The wounded numbering one hundred and fifty, with wounds still bleeding and undressed, carried on litters made of muskets and green saplings, three hundred Indian prisoners, with the remnant of Gen. Winslow's command, filed out of the vanquished Indian fort into the woods of a stormy night, their path lighted for three miles, says the old Indian chronicle, by the flames of the burning wigwams. It was a terrible march of triumph and of death. A driving snow storm, cold and piercing, blinded their way. They stumbled over logs that lay across their path, crossed shallow streams with coatings of thin ice, and waded through drifting snow, silent, save as the awful silence was broken by the moans of the suffering and the death pangs of the dying,—twenty-two of whom breathed their last on that historic trail. Many lost their way and wandered all night in the storm, while Governor Winslow and forty men brought up the rear guard at the Garrison, at seven o'clock, on the morning of the twentieth of December, 1675. "The Great Grave" in the rear of the Garrison received the mortal remains of forty soldiers of the patriot army, whose doom was the eloquent testimony to their bravery in a struggle, short, sharp, decisive, that saved the New England Colonies from utter destruction. To each hero Byron's lines apply:

"We tell thy doom without a sigh
For thou art Freedom's now and Fame's,—
One of the few, the immortal names
That was not born to die."

In the spring of 1676, the Narragansetts, recovering in a measure from the blow inflicted in the Great Swamp Fight, again took the war path, under their great chief, Canonchet, making deadly raids on Massachusetts and Plymouth towns. The duty of leading in the pursuit of the Narragansetts fell to Captain Michael Pierce, of Scituate, Massachusetts, who had won a military record as a captain of the Plymouth Colony Militia and participated with the Plymouth men in the bloody fight at Narragansett, December 19, 1675. Early in the year Captain Pierce made his will, writing in a bold hand, "Being now by the appointment of God, going out to war against the Indians, doe make this my last will and testament."

Acting under orders from Plymouth Colony, Captain Pierce with a company of about fifty English and twenty friendly Indians started in pursuit of the Narragansetts, who were making trouble for the settlers along the Pawtucket river. From Rehoboth, now East Providence, on the 25th of March, Captain Pierce sallied forth with a small party of men in search of his enemy, whom he found in considerable numbers, and making an attack, inflicted severe losses, without any injury to his own men. Learning that a large band of Indian warriors was in camp near or at Quinsneck, probably under Canonchet, Captain Pierce, not fearing and probably not anticipating an ambuscade, resolved on an advance on Sunday, March 26, with a force of about sixty English and twenty Indians.

Before starting out on his reconnaissance, Captain Pierce sent a messenger to Providence for troops to assist him at Central Falls, on the Pawtucket river,—but no soldiers came. Marching from Rehoboth (now Rumford, Rhode Island) about three miles to the north, Captain Pierce came to a ravine on the east bank of the river, where the river was easily forded. Looking across the river, Captain Pierce saw a number of Indians limping about and judged them to be wounded men of the fight the day before, as they fled into the woods on discovery. It is probable that a number of the men crossed the river, following the decoys on the western bank. Captain Pierce then led the main body of his company into the ravine and was about to ford the stream, when suddenly the air was rent with savage yells, and springing from their hiding on the commanding hills, the Narragansetts, numbering several hundreds, possibly a thousand warriors, rushed down on the small band of English, letting fly their deadly arrows and musket fire upon the Colonials. Captain Pierce saw at once that his only hope lay in crossing the river to a partially

wooded plain or river bottom, flanked on the west by low hills, covered with a dense forest. Here he planned to make his defence against the enemy on his rear, now following him across the river, when, to his great dismay, he discovered a band of Indian warriors swarming down from the foot hills, in front of him. The order of battle as related by an ancient chronicle, was as follows:

"Captain Pierce cast his sixty-three English and twenty Indians into a ring, and six fought back to back, and were double, double distance all in one ring, whilst the Indians were as thick as they could stand thirty deep." Resolved to sell their lives at the greatest cost to their enemies, the Colonials stood their ground, with thinning ranks, for nearly two hours, keeping the enemy at musket range distance. Captain Pierce fell early in the fight. As their numbers lessen the savages close in upon the ill-fated remnant and tomahawks and muskets end the tragic strife and less than twenty attempt escape by flight. Nine of the Pierce band were made captive and slain on the border of Indian Camp Swamp at a place known as Nine Men's Misery, in the town of Cumberland. Eight English and a few friendly Indians escaped to tell the story of the bloody massacre. The Indian loss in killed and wounded was heavy, the estimates ranging from one hundred to three hundred warriors. The site of the battle-field of Pierce's Fight is on the west bank of the Blackstone river, north of the bridge of the New York and New Haven Railroad, at Central Falls. A boulder monument marks the field of the fight.

The capture and death of Canonchet a few days later constitute one of the most thrilling events of Philip's War. On the 30th of March, 1676, Major Edward Palmer, of Connecticut, in command of the forces operating in the Narragansett country sent out a force of seventy-nine English under Captain George Denison and a mixed force of Niantics, Pequots and Mohegans, under Oneko, son of Uncas, to discover and engage Canonchet and his warriors, supposed to lie in hiding at Quinsnicket. Reaching the Pawtucket river on the 3rd of April, Captain Denison was told by a captive squaw that Canonchet was encamped nearby. Moving rapidly up the river bank the troops came upon two Narragansett sentinels on the crest of a small hill, who fled down the hill, giving the alarm to Canonchet and a few of his men, lying at ease on the hillside. A careful study of all the historic records and a survey of the topography of the land slopes on the Blackstone (Pawtucket) river satisfies me that the hill slope, where Canonchet was captured, is at west Lonsdale, about a mile east of the Quinsnicket camp of the Narragansetts, and north and west of the village. The hill to the river bank is intersected by the Rhode Island branch of the Grand Trunk Railroad.

A general alarm sent the savage warriors flying from their foe. Canonchet ran swiftly around the hill, but, seeing the Niantics in close pursuit, he threw off his blanket, then his silver trimmed coat and the royal belt of wampum, by which his Indian pursuers discovered his rank as chief sachem. Canonchet's only way of escape was to flee across the Pawtucket, but as he rushed into the stream, his foot slipped and falling into the water he wet the priming of his gun. Before he could recover himself he was seized by an Indian of Denison's company and facing his foes made no resistance to his captors. Robert Stanton, a young soldier, was the first of the whites to salute the captive sachem. In answer to a question, Canonchet replied with savage dignity, "You much child, no understand matters of war; let your chief come; him I will answer."

Many Indians were captured, their flight being hindered by the Pawtucket river, too deep for fording. Forty-three of the most stalwart braves were slain by the river side, after which the victors set out with Canonchet as their chief prize of war, for Stonington. On the march, Canonchet was offered his life if he would persuade his tribe to make peace, but he scornfully refused, saying that his death would not end the war. Asked "why he did foment the war?" his only answer was "that he was born a prince and if princes came to speak with him, he would answer." He told his captors that he would rather die than be a prisoner and asked that Oneko might be chosen to put him to death, as he was an Indian of equal rank. Fearing that he might escape if held a captive, or later be released, it was decided by the soldiers that Canonchet should be shot by a sachem of his own rank. Following the death sentence, the great sachem of the Narragansetts was shot by Oneko, a Pequot, was beheaded by a young sachem of the Mohegans and another sachem of the Niantics built the fire that cremated his body, while his head was sent to the English Council of War at Hartford as a token of the love and fidelity of the Indian allies.

Canonchet's last words on learning his sentence were, "I like it well. I shall die before my heart is soft or I have spoken unworthy words." The historian Hubbard calls Canonchet "a most perfidious villain," "a damned wretch," "he was as good as his word, acting herein as by a Pythagorean metamorphosis. Some old Roman ghost had possessed the body of this western pagan, and like Attilius Regulus he would not accept his own life when it was tendered to him upon that low compliance with the English."

Well done, historian Hubbard, you have placed Canonchet's name on the roll of the world's immortals, linking it with the greatest of Roman generals, Marcus Attilius Regulus, who would not betray his country to save his life. Time, the healer of wrongs, has wiped out the impious

anathemas pronounced on the two great chiefs, Miantonomi and his son Canonchet. "The deep damnation of their taking off" has also found an oblivion in the later judgments of men. To-day, the Sons of Pilgrims and Puritans unite in honoring those chiefs of a savage race; who nursed and nurtured the infant English settlements; who gave lands for their towns, and protection to their industries; who kept faith with men of faith. They welcomed Williams and Vane, Clarke and Coddington, Brown and Willett, and all our founders with a hearty "What Cheer," and continued that cordiality until they read in the omens of earth and sky the dreadful words,—Extermination—Death. The Indians of New England fought for family, home and native land, and for these they died. What less could they have done? What more?

Arnold says of Canonchet:

His conduct on this occasion (at his death) has been justly compared with that of Regulus before the Roman Senate, than which the chronicles of time present but one sublimer scene. A higher type of manly character, more loftiness of spirit or dignity of action, the qualities that make heroes of men, and once made demi-gods of heroes, than are found in this western savage, may be sought in vain among the records of pagan heroism or of Christian fortitude.

The monument that shall one day rise in memory of Canonchet, alongside one to the great Miantonomi, his father, demands no loftier inscription—Canonchet, friend, benefactor, protector, warrior, hero, martyr.

The Narragansett Swamp Fight terrorized all the white people of the Narragansett Bay region, most of whom fled to Newport for protection, where all the Rhode Island militia had been stationed by Governor Coddington for the best protection of the mainland towns. The inhabitants of Warwick, leaving only a small garrison in the Greene Stone Castle, removed bodily to Aquidneck and there kept up their town organization for fifteen months, until the war was over. The women and children of Providence and all the men, except about thirty, fled to the island. The Providence town records give a list of names of twenty-seven men "who staid and went not away."

The Island of Aquidneck was placed under martial law and a service of armed boats kept a constant patrol around it. Providence had two protected stations. One was the fort on Stampers Hill, where Roger Williams and a body of townsmen found protection. The other was the garrison house of William Field, on South Main street near the foot of Hopkins street, where Captain Arthur Fenner with the other men were posted. During February and March, 1676, the war was carried on in Massachusetts, usually with victories by the Indians. Canonchet had now

joined Philip in active warfare. On March 16, Warwick was attacked, one man killed and every house burned except the Greene Stone Garrison. On March 29, the Indians made an attack on Providence, after having burned all the houses on Seekonk Plains except the garrison and one other house. On the approach of the Indians to Providence from the direction of Quinsnicket, their usual rendezvous, Mr. Williams went across the Wapwaysit bridge to meet them, alone and unarmed. He tried to persuade them to make peace as the English were too strong for them to contend with. Their reply was: "Well, let them come on, we are ready for them, but as for you, brother Williams, you are a good man; you have been kind to us for many years; not a hair on your head shall be touched." Mr. Williams, as captain of the train band, returned to his fort on the hill, neither garrison house was attacked and as the records state, all but five houses were burned. Not a man was killed, wounded or taken captive at Providence, and only one was killed at Seekonk when that town was burned. This man was an Irishman named Robert Beers, who thought his Bible would be a sure protection of himself and his house. While reading his Bible, in plain sight of the enemy, he was shot and his house burned. At Providence, the house and the gristmill of John Smith were burned and the records of the town, of which Smith was town clerk, were saved by being thrown out of a window into the mill-pond. A mystery has always surrounded the remarkable preservation of the records, when one remembers that every house had been deserted and the men had taken refuge in the two garrisons. Did the Indians, seeing the book of unusual size and appearance, throw it into the pond in token of their high regard for Roger Williams? To me this seems possible. So complete was the destruction of the settlers' homes that from Study Hill, Blackstone's old home, to Stonington, the only houses standing were the Smith Garrison, the Greene Castle in Warwick and the few dwellings in Providence, not exceeding eight in all. The people had fled to Hartford, to Aquidneck and to Boston. Rev. John Myles, of Swansea, and his people took refuge in Boston. The Browns and Willetts at Wannamoisett were shielded by friendly relations with the Wampanoags, although Andrew Willett was shot in the doorway of his father's house at Wannamoisett by a strange Indian. When the head of young Willett was shown to Philip he was inconsolable that a son of his father's friend had been slain.

Pumham, of Pawtuxet, was a wiley Indian warrior, who avoided capture by Governor Winslow's forces in December, 1675, but was surprised at Dedham, Massachusetts, July 27, with a handful of warriors, most of whom were his kinsfolk. He asked no quarter and gave none, for, being mortally wounded in the back and unable to stand, he fought

with his hatchet and lying in the bushes caught a Colonial, whom he would have slain, had not another Colonial come to his assistance. "His son," says Hubbard, "was a likely youth and one whose countenance would have besought favor for him had he not belonged to so barbarous and bloody an Indian as his father was." Fifteen of Pumham's band were slain with their chief and thirty-four were captured.

Captain Benjamin Church, of Little Compton, received his commission as chief in command of Plymouth Colony troops on the 25th of July, 1676, and at once took the war-path to capture King Philip. At that time, Philip was terrorizing the settlers at Middleboro, Norton, Taunton and Rehoboth, losing to Captain Church, in captives, his uncle, Akkom-poin, his wife, Woolonekanuske and his son, nine years old. The son was soon sold into slavery to West India planters, and with the speedy death by drowning in the Taunton river of Weetamoo, the widow of Philip's brother, the family of Massasoit had been wiped out, save the lonely and heartbroken sachem. Church, hot in pursuit of Philip, lost the trail in Pocasset, and crossing the Sakonet river to Aquidneck to call on his wife at Major Sanford's, he was met by two horsemen who came to tell him that King Philip was at that moment at Mt. Hope, his royal headquarters at Bristol. Captain Church set out at once to capture Philip, crossed Bristol Ferry about midnight of August 12, surrounded the swamp where the sachem was hiding, with a small force of English and Indians, under Captain Goulding. At daybreak, crawling along on their bellies, the Captain came suddenly upon Philip, who, seizing his powder horn and gun and clad in his moccasins and small breeches plunged at once into the swamp, coming directly in his flight upon an Indian of Church's band, named Alderman, who fired two shots, one bullet piercing his heart, and Philip fell upon his face in the mirey swamp, a dead sachem. The shout of Anawon was heard, "Iootash, Iootash"—"Stand and fight," but the greater part fled, five only of Philip's men being killed.

The dreadful temper of the times is seen in the treatment of the body of King Philip. His head was cut off and carried through the streets of Plymouth on the 17th of August. It was then set upon a pole where it remained till 1700, as an object lesson of the Indian War, when Dr. Mather (Increase), upon an occasion "took off the jaw from the exposed skull of that blasphemous leviathan." His body was quartered and hung upon four trees, as food for birds, while a hand given to the Sakonet Indian who shot him, was preserved in rum and shown through the New England settlements. A few days later, Anawon, Philip's lieutenant, was followed and captured in his hiding place, in Squannakonk Swamp in Rehoboth, was taken to Plymouth and there executed.

The death of the great sachems of the leading tribes did not end Philip's War, which continued in various parts of New England, to the great disturbance of the white settlers, into 1678. With the loss of Canonchet and Philip, the Narragansetts and the Wampanoags, however, lost heart and hope. A thousand Colonials had been slain or made captive and other thousands carried to their graves the wounds of Indian arrows and bullets. But the Indian losses in life and in captivity were ten times greater than befell the settlers. The chiefs of the warriors, as fast as captured, were executed while lesser captives were sold into domestic or foreign slavery. At the town-meeting of Providence in June, 1676, Indian captives were sold as slaves for periods of from seven to twenty-five years, according to age. All captives under five years were to "serve till thirty;" all above thirty, seven years. Mr. Williams was chairman of the committee on the Indian sale, the proceeds of which were divided among the towns-people. Rhode Island was the only Colony that adopted the family apprenticeship plan, and it is to the credit of the Colony that not one captive was sold without her bounds, while in the other Colonies, captive Indians were sent abroad and sold into hopeless bondage in the companionship of the negro slaves from Africa and the isles of the sea. The Narragansetts and the Wampanoags were thoroughly exterminated. Not a representative of the Narragansetts, in later years, could be found to furnish a figurehead for the tribe and Ninigret, a Niantic, was chosen to masquerade as one of the greater tribe. The late remnant of Rhode Island tribes in Charlestown, Rhode Island, was of Niantic stock.

It is a notable fact that the Indians treated the Colonial captives humanely as a general rule. English women were treated with respect and in no case was violence offered to their persons. The testimony of the women, made captives in the sacking of New England towns, is unvarying that the chivalric spirit of the red men protected the females in their captivity.

At the close of King Philip's War, the Indian tribes were extirpated and the English Colonies were exhausted. With the exception of the Aquidneck towns, and a small group at Providence, the whole of the people of Rhode Island had been exiled or slain. The greatest battle of the war had been waged on Rhode Island soil. Canonchet and Philip, the two great chiefs, had been brought low on what was then or later Rhode Island territory. Each fell within his own Indian domain, fighting for ancestral rights. Neither surrendered or asked quarter.

Thirteen English towns were destroyed and few escaped unharmed. The scattered settlements were laid in ruins. Edward Randolph in his report to the English Board of Trade, October 12, 1676, estimated the losses of the war at £150,000, twelve hundred houses burnt, eight

thousand head of cattle killed, thousands of bushels of grain destroyed. The English loss he put at six hundred killed with twelve captains, and the Indians slain three thousand. Plymouth Colony was the greatest Colonial sufferer. Not only was there mourning in every household, but the destruction of property and the public expenditures left the Colony under a debt exceeding the total valuation of the property of the people. So heavy was the burden of taxation that when, in 1690, the existence of the Colony as an independent government was at stake, the people, on a referendum vote, refused to raise a tax to send an agent to England to defend the Colony, and as a result Plymouth was united with the Bay Colony and the first Colony to establish civil and religious institutions of the Pilgrim type lost its individuality and its freer and broader democracy in the Puritan Commonwealth at the head of Massachusetts Bay. Lodge, in his "History of the English Colonies," says of Philip's War:

This long and desperate conflict fell upon New England with crushing effect. A vast amount of property had been destroyed and there was mourning in every household. The Colonies were loaded with debt, while the enormous expenditure of men and money had crippled the public resources, weakened the government and depressed the spirits of the people.

In the appeal to our reason and our humanity to render a just verdict on King Philip's War, which, beginning in 1675, terminated with the final conquest of the Indian tribes in North America at the close of the French and Indian War, in 1759, we are forced to the conclusion that whatever the merits of the cause on either side, the contest was unavoidable and inevitable and resulted in the interests of Christianity and civilization. The American continent with its vast resources and unmeasured possibilities was the habitation of a few thousands of Indians, whose recreation was inter-tribal war, and whose occupation was in a shiftless nomadic life. Industry, law, religion, had no economic value of regulating force on the individual or community life of the Indian. Property in severality, the Palladium of rights, was an unknown and an untried factor. Might alone made right and rights of possession. Wherever among men, such ideas and ideals have held sway, they have and must always give way to the higher and broader conceptions of mankind. Personal virtues and high moral qualities, may and do dwell in savage men, but these virtuous qualities cannot stay human progress or hinder the march of the great forces of society, inspired by high ideals, elevated by education and moving towards the goal of Democracy. Whoever and whatever stands in the way of this progressive movement must join it or be crushed by it. This seems to be nature's fundamental, universal, relentless law.

The Indian tribes of New England stood in the pathway of a great race moving westward to found a new civilization. From among these savage peoples, rose to power, the wise and peace loving Massasoit, the great and generous Canonicus, the diplomatic Miantonomi, the patriotic Philip, the unconquerable Canonchet.

We cannot exalt their virtues too highly or condemn their faults too leniently. They did what their savage natures, their education, their tribal traditions taught them. They acted true to their consciences and convictions. Let this be our generous verdict. But Bradford and Standish and Winslow and Winthrop and Williams and Clarke and Coddington and Gorton, the representatives of a great race, a higher manhood and a new state craft, needed a field for expansion, development, and on the ruins of a prostrate Indian racial life they built a Commonwealth founded on Law, Education, Industry, Religion,—a Christian Democracy.



CHAPTER XXVI

THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY



STATE CAPITOL, PROVIDENCE

Dedicated, 1900



ROGER MOWRY TAVERN, PROVIDENCE

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THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY.

The country known as Narragansett, the home of the tribe bearing that name, included originally all of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, prior to 1747. The original dwellers were the Narragansett Indians, who according to Brinley, numbered at one time 30,000 men. The Niantics, Nipmucs, the Shawomets and Cowesetts, were small subject tribes within this area. Roger Williams tells us that on his first acquaintance with them, about 1632, they could raise five thousand warriors.

At the close of Philip's War, the remnant of the tribes continued to occupy the territory, bordering on the ocean between Weekapaug and the Pawcatuck River, and the name Narragansett was retained for the territory now known as Washington county and a portion of Kent county. It is our purpose, in this chapter, to write of the white settlers, who succeeded to the ownership and occupation of the southern section of these early Indian lands, whose character, life and influence have been so peculiar and distinguished as to demand special treatment as an independent commonwealth—"the Narragansett Country."

As we are coming into important business relations with the sachems and sub-sachems of the Narragansetts, we shall find bargains and sales of land and other valuables the subjects of disputes between the white settlers and the Indians, between the white settlers with each other, and between the Indian sachems themselves. The ideas of land tenure differed so widely that a legal conveyance had little more than temporary significance and value. The Indian sachems did not and could not clearly understand the technical terms of a deed, even when interpreted to them by the white man. The opportunity and the temptation were united to the advantage of the white man, and even in the first purchase made by Mr. Williams in 1638, concerning whom no one will accuse of fraud, the confusion as to terms, bounds and title became the subjects of bitter controversy that lasted more than a century. The purchase of Aquidneck by Clarke and Coddington in 1638 was a singular instance of a sale and title that were never disputed. Taxes, interest, annuities, were stranger terms for an Indian to understand than land tenure, life or permanent, and the written documents that affirmed them. The Narragansetts looked to Mr. Williams as "their guide, philosopher and friend," and their reliance was on a man whose honesty and sympathy in Indian transactions were not questioned, but whose business knowledge and practise were strangely and strikingly deficient. As a diplomatist and peace-maker,

Mr. Williams excelled. As a business man and an advisor in state-craft, he is entitled to meager compliment.

A case of conflict of titles between Indians occurred in the Pawtuxet Purchase of 1641. Nawashawsuc, an under sachem of Massassoit of the Wampanoags, claimed the tract, which was deeded to William Arnold, Robert Cole and William Carpenter by Soccononoco and Pumham, sub-sachems of the Narragansetts. These purchasers with Benedict Arnold submitted themselves and their land to Massachusetts Bay, September 8, 1642, giving to the Bay Colony a small territory adjoining the Williams purchase of 1638. This land transaction and its transference was the source of plentiful trouble in the tribe and the starting point of claims of many sorts by the Bay Colony on the Indians and the Rhode Island Colony. In 1643 the territory of Shawomet, Warwick, was sold to Samuel Gorton and ten others, the deed bearing the signs and seals of Miantonomi and of Powham, local sachems. This title was questioned by Massachusetts on the ground of priority of Colonial claim, out of which followed the savage and unjustifiable attack of the militia of the Bay on the Warwick settlement and the scattering of the settlers in flight and capture. In the disputes and complications of the two sales made in 1641 and 1642 we may trace the course of the spirit and motive which alienated the two colonies and the real cause as Judge Potter states, "why Miantonomi was afterwards so coolly and cruelly put to death, when he fell into their hands, in his war with the Mohegans, though other and more sanctimonious reasons were outwardly assigned for the deed."

It may also be stated that the Narragansett country was a prize coveted by all the New England Colonies. Rhode Island claimed it as included in the Patent of 1643-4. Connecticut was very desirous of extending her territory eastward to Narragansett Bay and harbors. Massachusetts wanted it for its speculative value and as a foil to Mr. Williams' rising ambition as to a colony on the west side of Narragansett Bay. Plymouth laid claim to it for no special reason except that its fertile lands were a better place for settlers than the sandy shores of Cape Cod or the juniper hills of Plymouth. It is quite possible that the Plymouth leaders hoped to gain Aquidneck and extend their holdings to the Connecticut line.

The Narragansett country in the early days was heavily wooded, was intersected by many streams and dotted with many ponds. Among the ponds were the Tippecansett, Yawgoog, Yawgoo, Worden's, Tucker's, Annaquatucket, Pettaquamscutt, Great Pond, Quonocontaug, Charlestown, Beebe, Wachaug, Quassakoonkanuc, Green Hill, Point Judith, Babcock, and many others. Among the streams, the larger were the Pawcatuck, Usquepaug, Chepuxet, Pettaquamscutt, Hunt's, Narrow, Wood, Ashaway and Beaver. The forests were filled with game, the streams

and ponds abounded with fish and the sandy shores and shallow waters furnished clams, quahaugs and oysters. The wampum of the Narragansetts was made of the shells of their abundant fisheries. Many of the streams found their way to the sea over rocky precipices, the water power of which was first used by the settlers for mills of various kinds and in later days for manufacturing purposes. The land cleared of forests was fertile and suited to all the products of our New England climate, in the early day, especially corn, rye, oats, barley, potatoes, beans, onions and all other Rhode Island vegetables. Salt grasses abounded on the tide streams and fresh grasses furnished abundance of hay for cattle, sheep and horses. Agriculture and the raising of horses, sheep and cattle occupied the early settlers, most of whom in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became independently wealthy, the evidences of which survive into the twentieth. With the ocean washing the south shore, with its chain of salt water ponds and the waters of the Bay on the east, the climate of Narragansett was of the mildest New England type. Such a land was a fit place for the residence "of the Gods and of God-like men," and hither came men and women of a stock of which any land might be proud.

The first white settler in the Narragansett country, according to Mr. Williams, was Mr. Richard Smith, Sen., "who for his conscience to God left faire Possessions in Gloster Shire and adventured with his Relations and Estate to N. Engl. and was a most acceptable Inhabitant and prime leading man in Taunton in Plymouth Colony. For his conscience sake (many differences arising) he left Taunton and came to the Nahiggon-sik Countrey where by God's mercy and the favor of the Nahigonsik Sachems he broke the Ice (at his great charge and Hazards) and Put up in the thickest of ye Barbarians ye first English House amongst them." This was in 1637 or 39. This date rests on a letter of Roger Williams, written in 1679, in which he says that Smith built his house "about forty-two years from the date he kept possession." As Mr. Williams' dates are always subject to wide marginal variations, it is impossible to establish the connection with perfect accuracy. Goodwin favors 1637. Mr. Williams and a handful of settlers were at Providence and, if the date was 1639, Clarke and Coddington were his nearest neighbors on Aquidneck, with William Blackstone at Study Hill on the Pawtucket. Under date of 1641, Brinley writes, "Richard Smith purchased a tract of the Narragansett Sachem, among the thickest of the Indians (computed at 30,000) erected a house for trade, and gave free entertainment to travellers; it being the great road of the country." "This great road," was the Pequot and Narragansett trail, which skirted the shore of the ocean and the west bank of Narragansett Bay, it being today the main travelled way to Point Judith and Westerly. Callendar states that Roger Williams and

one Mr. Wilcox erected trading houses in the Narragansett country about 1642-3. Williams built his house a mile or more north of Smith, on the east side of the Old Trail and lived there from 1643 to 1651, when he sold out to Smith. The foundation walls and the floor timbers of the Williams house may be seen in the cellar of a house standing on the site.

For nearly an hundred years a sharp and bitter contest was carried on between the Colonies of Rhode Island, Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut over the title to the Narragansett country. In 1631, Connecticut obtained her first patent, bounding the Colony on "Narragansett river."

In 1643, the Williams patent declared, "on the west and northwest by the Indians called Nahigganneucks alias Narragansets, the whole tract extending about twenty-five English miles, unto the Pequod river and country." This patent seemed to fix the colonial bound at the Thames river, known as the Pequod.

In 1662, Connecticut Colony obtained a new charter, which bounded her possessions on the east by Narragansett river, commonly called Narragansett Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea," * * * that is to say from the Narragansett Bay on the east to the south sea on the west."

In April, 1663, commissioners were mutually chosen to fix the colonial bounds, and their terms were agreed to by John Winthrop, Jr., for Connecticut and Dr. John Clarke for Rhode Island. The commission declared "that a River, there commonly called and knowne by the name of Pawcatuck River, shall be the certaine bounds betweene those two Collonies, which said River shall for the future be alsoe called alias Norrogansett, or Narrogansett River. * * * That the proprietors and inhabitants of that land, about Mr. Smith's Tradeing-house claimed or purchased by Major Atherton * * * and others, * * * shall have free libertie to choose to which of those Collonies they will belong." On July 3, 1663, the Smith-Atherton proprietors met and chose Connecticut as their colonial jurisdiction.

The Royal Charter of Rhode Island, dated July 8, 1663, described the same boundary line, but did not refer to the choice granted the Smith-Atherton parties. It is evident that such a co-partnership in colonial authority could not exist in peace for any length of time. Arrests, imprisonment and other acts of violence, threatened bloodshed, and a colonist wrote, "We are in greater trouble than ever and like to be war."

These acts of violence and injustice reached the English government and Colonel Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, Esquires, were chosen to determine all questions of colonial bounds between Rhode Island and Connecticut. In March, 1664-5, the commission met at Pettaquamscutt, and after a hearing, erected the Narra-

gansett country, from Narragansett Bay to Pawcatuck river, into an independent jurisdiction to be called "YE KING'S PROVINCE AND Y^T NO PERSON, OF WHAT COLONY SOEVER, PRESUME TO EXERCISE ANY JURISDICTION WITHIN THIS YE KING'S PROVINCE, BUT SUCH AS RECEIVE AUTHORITY FROM US UNDER OUR HANDS AND SEALES, until his Majesties pleasure be futher known." King Charles approved the act and thereby one-half the territory of the Rhode Island Colony was created a sovereign province and in all acts of Parliament relating to the Colony, it is referred to as "THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS, AND THE KING'S PROVINCE." Philip's War came in 1675 and at its close the Wampanoags and Narragansetts were practically exterminated. Rhode Island and Connecticut again enter conflicting claims for the possession of the King's province. Arrests, imprisonments, confiscations followed and again, in 1683, a new High Court was created to settle the Colonial controversy. It decided that the KING'S PROVINCE belonged to Connecticut. Rhode Island remonstrated and defeated the decision.

In 1685, the King commissioned Joseph Dudley as President of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and the King's Province, declaring the last a separate government, independent of Rhode Island. President Dudley and his Colonial Council met at Smith's Castle or Trading House, established courts, appointed magistrates, and to obliterate the former organization, changed the names of the towns,—Kingstown to Rochester, Westerly to Haversham, and Greenwich to Deptford. Still the contest continued as the King's plan was unsatisfactory to both Colonies. Wearied with the long conflict and ready to settle on the best terms possible, Rhode Island sent Lieut. Governor Joseph Jenckes to London to present a final appeal to the King and Privy Council. Connecticut chose Jeremiah Dummer, of Massachusetts, as its agent.

In 1726, the King in Council made final decision that the Pawcatuck river should be the boundary line between Rhode Island and Connecticut, and that the KING'S PROVINCE should thereafter be a part of the Colony of Rhode Island. Thus ended the long and bitter struggle which had cost vast labor, years of hostile debate and a sum of money large for feeble colonies. The decision in favor of Rhode Island saved the Colony from disintegration and its absorption by neighboring colonies. Had Connecticut won the Narragansett country, Aquidneck would have been added to Plymouth Colony and Providence Plantations to Connecticut or Massachusetts. Three generations of indomitable Rhode Island fighters won the coveted Narragansett lands and made possible the planting and development of a race of men and women, the pride of the little Commonwealth and the wonder study of our later times.

As stated before, Richard Smith was the first white settler in the Narragansett country, 1637-9. Smith was born at Gloucestershire, England, about 1596. Being a "Puritan of the moderate school," and the owner of "faire Possessions," he decided to emigrate to New England, to avoid the persecuting acts of Archbishop Laud towards men of the Non-Conformist faith. It is certain that Smith landed in Boston and soon went to Taunton, becoming an original proprietor, holding twelve shares,—the maximum number sold to one person. His name appears among "Inhabitants admitted at the Towne of Nieu Port since the 20th of the 3rd, 1638." Mr. Williams says that Smith left Taunton "for his conscience sake (many differences arising)," but we are never quite sure as to the nature of the conscience trouble, when related by Mr. Williams. It may have been a difference as to the location of lands of disagreeable neighbors. Certain it was that in a settlement over which Hon. John Browne and Capt. Myles Standish held control, there could be no religious interference. It is certain that Smith did not purchase lands of the Indians at the outset, but that he made a settlement at Narragansett, "by the consent and with the approbation of the Indian princes and people, and did improve land, now meadows, severall yeares before Warwick was settled by any Englishman." The first house built by Richard Smith was probably a *block house* and stood on the east side of and near the "Pequot Path," on the site of "The Updike House," at Wickford, the latter containing some of the materials of the first house which was burned by the Indians before the close of Philip's War.

The great road for all the travel from Boston and the north and east to Connecticut and New York, passed by the Smith blockhouse at Cocomuscussuc, it being the great road of the country. The Smith house was built about 1640, as a place of trade, affording free entertainment for travellers. The present road, the post road, from East Greenwich to Wickford and through Tower Hill, Wakefield, Charlestown and Westerly was a very ancient Indian trail and is referred to in early deeds as "the Pequot Path," "the Road to Pequot," "the Country Road," etc. The Roger Williams trading house was located on this trail about a mile north of the Richard Smith House. The Pequot tribe occupied southeastern Connecticut and a part of southwestern Rhode Island to Weekapaug. After the Pequot war and the practical destruction of the tribe, the country still retained the name of Pequot. In 1645, John Winthrop, Jr., founded a town at the mouth of the Thames, calling it *Pequot* or *Nameaug* (a fishing place), comprising New London and Groton. The Connecticut Assembly in 1658 named the place New London, in "memory of that renowned City of London from whence we had our transportation." The Pequot river was then named the Thames.

About 1640, Smith purchased a tract of land of the Narragansett sachems, among the thickest of the Indians (computed at thirty thousand people), erected a house for trade and gave free entertainment for travellers. One John Greene testified, "I being present did see and heare all the Narragansett Princes, being assembled together, give, by *livery of seisin* some hundreds of acres of land about a mile in length and so down to the sea." This tract was north and east of the trading house and north of Mill Cove and Wickford Harbour, and the first sale of land in "the Narragansett Country" by the Indians to a white settler.

The second sale was to Roger Williams, who, prior to 1645, purchased a tract on the "Pequot Path," north of Richard Smith's and erected a trading house, spending much of his time there in trade with the Indians. A letter to John Whipple, Jr., at Pequot, Connecticut, is dated "*Narragansett*, 22 June, 1645." He often writes from *Cawcawmsquissick*, another Indian name for his trading house. Mr. Williams' last letter from the trading post to John Winthrop, Jr., is dated October 6, 1651, in which he writes of his plan to make a voyage to England, saying "My neighbors of Providence and Warwick, (whom I also lately denied) with the importunities, have overcome me to endeavor the renewing of their liberties, upon the occasion of Mr. Coddington's late grant. Upon this occasion, I have been advised to sell and have sold this house to Mr. Smith my neighbor." The earliest known deed of Narragansett land to Richard Smith by Roger Williams is dated Newport the 3rd of the 7th month called 1651," conveying to Smith "in consideration of fifty pounds * * * my tradeing house at Narragansett * * * as alsoe my fields and fencing aboute the s'd House." The amount of land is not stated, but whatever it was, it was a gift of the Indians, as Mr. Williams stated, near the close of his life, that he never paid anything for Indian lands.

The first speculators in Indian lands at Pettaquamscutt were John Hull, the mint-master of Boston, the maker of Pine Tree shillings, the first silver coin of New England, Samuel Wilbur, John Porter, Thomas Mumford and Samuel Wilson of Aquidneck. These gentlemen bought Pettaquamscutt Hill and lands adjoining, in 1657 for £16. The next year the sachem of Nyantic sold them lands on the north for £15,—the whole being a tract about fifteen miles long and six or seven miles wide. In 1668, William Brenton was admitted to the partnership and in 1669, Governor Benedict Arnold. Jointly they were called the Seven Purchasers of Pettaquamscutt.

In June, 1668, five of the Pettaquamscutt Purchasers passed an order, "that a tract of three hundred acres of the best land and in a convenient place be laid out and forever set apart as an encouragement, the income or improvement wholly for an Orthodox person, that shall be obtained to

preach God's word to the inhabitants." It was surveyed, platted and the words "to the ministry," entered on the draft. A contention arose as to the legal beneficiary of this gift of land, continuing for nearly a century, being decided finally before the King's Bench at Whitehall, in 1752, that as the donors were of the Presbyterian or Congregational order, and that in their minds the term "or orthodox" applied to that denomination, and the proceeds of the lands constituting a fund of over \$5,000 are now used toward the support of the Congregational church at Kingston.

Under date of June 11, 1659, Major Humphrey Atherton, of Boston, John Winthrop, Esq., of Connecticut, and others, partners and proprietors, purchased of Coquinaquand, chief sachem of the Narragansetts and proprietor of the Narragansett country, the territory known as Quidnessit, bounded by the Pequot Trail on the west, the Smith Purchase on the south, and the Bay on the south and east.

On July 4, of the same year, the same company bought Namcook or Boston Neck, the purchase being bounded by the Smith lands on the north, the Bay on the east and south, and the Pettaquamscutt river to its own sources on the west.

It also appears that under date of October 13, 1660, the sachem of the Narragansetts mortgaged to Major Atherton, John Winthrop and partners, the "remaining part of the whole Narragansett country, containing the Cowesett and Niantic countries and that part of the consideration, seven hundred and thirty-five fathom of peague was paid November 16, 1660," and that on September 22, 1662, Scuttup and Ninigret with sundry other sachems, counsellors and Indians to the number of two or three hundred, being assembled at Pettaquamscutt, the said Scuttup, in behalf of himself, brother and friends, delivered possession of the country, by turf and twig, to Captain Edward Hutchinson and others for the benefit of Major Atherton and other proprietors, the three tracts above mentioned included about 100,000 acres of land, giving to Massachusetts men the control of the best lands south of the Warwick Purchase. This proprietary had its inception in the discovery of these lands by Humphrey Atherton of Dorchester, in the march of the Massachusetts soldiers through this Indian country in the Pequot War. Later, in September, 1643, Lieut. Atherton was an officer in command of forty Massachusetts soldiers, sent to Warwick to secure control of Shawomet and if resistance was made, to arrest Gorton and his associates. Other excursions of Atherton, Winthrop and others gave opportunities for an acquaintance with the territory and led to desires for its possession for its valuable lands and fisheries and to strengthen the position of Massachusetts and Connecticut to hold all the Narragansett lands south of the Williams Purchase. So far as Indian titles availed, Rhode Island had been despoiled

of her most valuable lands against the remonstrances of Mr. Williams and the Rhode Island government. The later creation and royal support of "The King's Province," with a real government, courts, officers and recorders, seemed to destroy the last hope of holding a territory essential to the continued life of the Colony of Rhode Island.

Concerning Southern-town, a territory extending on the sea from Weekapaug to the Pequot river, while Massachusetts claimed its ownership, Rhode Island and Connecticut held claims in common with the Bay. Under date of June 29, 1660, Socho, an Indian captain of Narragansett, sold to a company of Newport gentlemen, a portion of this territory, called Misquamicutt, extending from Weekapaug to the Pawcatuck river. The purchasers were William Vaughan, John Fairfield, Hugh Moshur, James Longbottom and others, their associates. The deed was witnessed by Jeremy Clarke, Latham Clarke, Henry Clarke, George Webb and Henry Gardiner. The east line of the purchase ran from Weekapaug to Shannock and thence westerly to the Pawcatuck river. In March, 1661, articles of agreement were drawn up at Newport, governing the purchasers as to the lands and their occupancy which received the signature of seventy-six persons, many of whom becoming settlers on these lands at an early date. Mr. William Vaughan was made clerk of the proprietors. On the 15th of September, 1661, the purchasers met at Misquamicutt to the number of sixty-eight, laying out a town, "on the North side of the Brook by the Great Neck, and so to extend up along the River on the East side of the highway." This was the beginning of Westerly, the first organized settlement in the King's province. Among the names that have survived for two and a half centuries are Clarke, Crandall, Carr, Champlin, Dickens, Helme, Peckham, Greene, Dyer, Bull, Fones, Arnold, Cranston, Cottrell, Wood, Coggeshall, Tower, Brayton, Babcock, Saunders, Langworthy, Potter, Hazard, Sherman, Weeden, Richmond, Tillinghast, Larkin, Maxson, Sands, Lewis, Burdick, Browne. Under the story of the founding of the town of Westerly will be found the later events of the Misquamicutt Purchase, which was declared void by the King's Commissioners, April 4, 1665.

Judge Potter's "Early History of Narragansett" records many important and interesting facts as side lights on the Narragansett Purchase. The following are among the most significant. On August 27, 1645, a treaty was concluded at Boston between the Bay Colony and Pessicus and others of the Narragansetts, by which the Indians agreed to pay to the English 2,000 fathoms of white or one-third as much black,—500 in 20 days, 500 in four months, 500 at next planting season and the balance in two years. This claim was made and allowed on the ground of injuries and indemnities growing out of the relations of the Indians with the

whites, and was wholly to the advantage of the English. In 1646, the Narragansetts declared themselves unable to pay the whole sum, but were forced to pay the whole sum, through the agency of Capt. Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester, who, in his visit to Pessicus, at Narragansett, seized the chief by his hair and threatened his life unless the payment was made at once. The Indians were so frightened that they collected and paid the tribute, though Pessicus declared he had been forced into the treaty. Capt. Atherton was the leader of the syndicate that made the several purchases of the Narragansetts and made the acquaintance with the Narragansett country on this trip to collect the wampum.

In 1647, Canonicus, the great sachem of the Narragansetts, died, a very old man, leaving the hereditary Indian quarrel to his successor. Mr. Williams made the acquaintance of Canonicus soon after his arrival, and by continued visits and a thorough, hearty confidence in Indian character, won the great sachem's friendship and confidence in return, as well as the good will of the great tribe. It was Canonicus who declared, "I have never suffered any wrong to be offered to the English since they landed, nor never will," and this was said when he had gloomy fears and forebodings as to the future of his nation, and in a measure doubting the continued peaceful relations with the English. Mr. Williams wrote of the old sachem: "Their late famous, long-lived Canonicus, so lived and died, and in the same most honorable manner and solemnity (in their way) as you laid to sleep your prudent peacemaker, Mr. Winthrop, did they honor this their prudent and peaceable prince. His son, Mexam, inherits his spirit. Yea, through all their towns and countries, how frequently do many, and oft times our Englishmen, travel alone with safety and loving kindness."

The Atherton purchases of land in the Narragansett country were subjects of controversy for many years. The purchases were made in violation of a law of Rhode Island and in opposition to the warning of Roger Williams, who refused to be a party in the transactions with the Indians. In 1659, the Rhode Island Colonial Assembly, at Portsmouth, appointed a committee of two from each town to write to the Commissioners of the United Colonies and to Major Atherton as to the validity of these sales by the Indians to Massachusetts parties. In 1660, a committee was sent to treat with Major Atherton and his company as to their purchases in Narragansett, offering terms upon which they might hold these lands, or if they refused to treat, to forbid their entrance on the territory.

In 1661, the Atherton company came into possession of all the unsold lands in the Narragansett country, as a result of a great injustice committed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies upon the Narragan-

sett Indians. The tribe was charged unjustly of inflicting injuries on the Mohegans and a heavy fine was levied which the sachem declined to pay. An armed force was sent to compel the payment of five hundred and ninety-five fathoms of peag within four months from the demand. The sachems mortgaged all their unsold lands in Narragansett to the Atherton company, on condition that the company should pay the fine. Six months was allowed for redemption. Atherton paid the fine, the land was not redeemed, and in the spring of 1662, formal possession was made to the mortgagees. The once land-wealthy tribe was now landless and worse, for the younger sachems were embittered towards the Colonists and were nourishing a hatred that was expressed a few years later in the desolations of Philip's War.

The action of the Colony of Rhode Island in opposition to the Atherton Company and its purchases was a complete justification of the Narragansett settlers in choosing Connecticut jurisdiction in 1663, as already noted. The Governor and Council of Connecticut accepted the civil control of the settlers in Narragansett, named the plantation Wickford and appointed Richard Smith, Sen., Edward Hutchinson and Joshua Howes selectmen, and Richard Smith, Jr., constable. The Smith trading house was chosen as the place for transacting all public business of the Narragansett country. In order further to relieve the Atherton Company from the acts of the Rhode Island Colony, King Charles commended the Atherton purchasers and their proprietary interests to the care of the United Colonies of New England.

In 1664, the Atherton Company was summoned to appear before the General Assembly to answer for its intrusions and usurpations and was forbidden under penalty of fines and imprisonment to continue its attempts to settle in the Colony. And so the wearisome contest as to title and jurisdiction continued for more than half a century until death had silenced the original contestants and the exhausted patience, diplomacy and fighting ability of the United Colonies were forced to yield to the jurisdiction claimed by Williams and Clarke in favor of the Rhode Island Colony. Meanwhile the title holders of the Narragansett lands had come to be actual Rhode Island settlers and the argument and motive for vacating land titles had long since ceased. For the benefit of such students as wish to enter the labyrinth of historical evidence relative to titles and jurisdiction of the Narragansett country, reference is made to Arnold's History of Rhode Island, Vol. I; to the Early History of Narragansett, by Elisha R. Potter, Jr.; the Colonial Records of Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts, and the records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

The seven purchasers of Pettaquamscutt were landlords in deed and in truth. For the paltry sum of £31,—about \$175, these men had come into the possession of 64,000 acres of land, at a cost of less than three-tenths of a cent per acre,—land too, that was valuable for tillage, grazing, timber and, for all that they knew and really supposed, for mines, with salt and fresh water ponds and rivers, with the adjacent shores and sea stocked by nature with innumerable fish of all kinds for food and fertilization. Strange to say, out of the average lot of common men and women of old English stock, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island came a colony,—a race of large land-owners, who have long borne the name of Narragansett planters; who settled on the Pettaquamscutt lands, erected large houses on large estates, drew their wealth from the soil, surrounded themselves with all the comforts that an early pioneer life could furnish and as lords of manors, formed a landed aristocracy, with as marked characteristics as the aristocrats of other communities, home or foreign. The varied products of our Rhode Island soil furnished all the foods that the early system of agriculture produced, while herds of cattle, great flocks of sheep and great pens of hogs supplied abundance of meat for home consumption and a surplus for exchange for foreign products. Wool and flax were converted into clothing by domestic machinery in the homes of the planters. Slavery, of a mild form, had existed in all the New England Colonies from a very early day and Rhode Island farmers had early used the labor of negro captives from Africa. Newport had become a slave market for New England and most of the land-holders of this Colony employed slave families for indoor and outdoor work, as unpaid slave labor was more profitable than paid white labor, it was the practise to own and employ as many slaves as the size of the farm and the means of the owner would permit. Mr. Updike states that in the Narragansett country families would average from five to forty slaves each, the slaves and horses being about equal in numbers. The raising of negro babies was an industry that yielded some profit to the farmer, and the multiplication of the negro family gave more leisure to the white families, whose chief duties often were to supervise slave labor. Some of the large planters owned vessels and imported the negroes needed by neighboring families. The round voyage from Narragansett included a cargo of farm products or liquor to Africa, with a return trip with an hundred negroes, a part of whom were sold in the West Indies for sugar and molasses or for cash and the balance supplied the home market, the planters counting three profits on a venture of four or five months in duration. The large mansion houses of the planters, with spacious gable roofs afforded garret rooms, in which, with their out-houses and cabins

were the sleeping places of the slaves,—their homes, where family life had its free and full exercise and native expression.

This Narragansett planter class was not a purse-proud people, although they had a plenty of worldly goods for their day. Nor were they aristocratic in the modern use of that term; they were not even well educated. They had no schools, no churches and no social or political nucleus. Home life, the farm, the country side, hunting, fishing, horse-racing, sinless gambling, an occasional half-way duel, or a clean shot at an intruding, too neighborly animal occupied the time of these exclusive "damned independent" south country gentlemen and dames. Hospitality was unstinted. A guest at a planter home was the temporary lord of the manor. The men and women of high degree of Dutch, French or English stock found in a Narragansett mansion a warm welcome, a cheery side-board, a blazing cordwood fire, under a roaring chimney, a table loaded with all the meats, breadstuffs, fruits, pies, cakes, corn-bread, johnny cakes, wines, cider, tea, coffee, et cetera, et cetera, served under the eye of an elegantly gowned and powdered *mater familias*, by maids with dark faces and African born curls, taught in the school of south country etiquette, neatness and grace. Music added its charms to the courtly dinner in the strains of the fiddle, the big bass viol, the guitar and the voices of the songsters of the Gold Coast. The ladies of the Narragansett homes were full sized, tall, full chested, handsome, with courtly manners and, when full dressed, most attractive. Although not educated in the schools, intelligence and the inner consciousness of good family blood and other inheritances made the women excellent wives, mothers and hostesses, who performed well their important role in domestic and social life.

A Narragansett lady dressed for dinner or a ball was certainly an attractive personage. An erect, stately, graceful figure accepts and appropriates garments as a fuller and deeper expression of the pulsating vigor of the life within. The face, neck and bosom, the *piece de resistance*, were the open book of beauty in feature, form and womanly attractiveness. The intellectual forehead, the kindling eye, the rose-crowned lips, the English patrician nose, the clean cheek, tinged with color, the well rounded, firm chin, a neck of fine proportions leading to a bosom of grace and purity, half concealed by a corsage of Valenciennes lace set in a Ghilan silk bodice to the waist line and then sweeping away in broad plaits to reveal, at its lower folds, rich China and Belgium fineries of ancient millinery. Silk stockings and silver or gold buckled shoes, constituted the foot wear, while diamond or pearl set earrings, a silver or gold ornament on the crown with the hair pompadoured and powdered or sweeping in curls over the neck and shoulders, completed the chief outer attractions and adornments of a Narragansett lady of the early years of the eighteenth

century. In such fine array, appeared the sweethearts, wives and daughters of the great families of Narragansett—the Robinsons, the Hazards, the Champlins, the Brentons, the Nileses, the Willetts, the Updikes, the Potters, Stantons, Cranstons, Browns and associate families.

The dress of a Narragansett gentleman, bereft of all the artist's adornings, was artistic and befitting social etiquette. In the ballroom, and on all full dress occasions, men wore scarlet velvet coats and swords, with laced ruffles over their hands, hair combed back, clubbed, frizzled or queued behind, powdered and pomatumed, small clothes, silk stockings with silver knee buckles and shoes with silver buckles. This dress suited the stately minuet with its thirty-six different positions and changes and was a fitting accompaniment to the rich brocades, cushioned headgear, and high heeled shoes of their lady partners. Such exuberance in dress suggested lives of festivities, luxurious ease and dissipation. The idealism of the century found its satisfaction in the indulgences of sumptuous dinners, in costly viands and in the ravishment of foods, through the intoxicating aid of "wines that ran redder than blood." In the large reception halls of spacious farm mansions, under the inflow of passionate music from slave lips that had never tasted Falernian wines, save in the overflow of Narragansett bowls, youths and maids and young married life passed the hours of the night in passionate revelry and left the ballroom in the early morning twilight, by the aid of attendants, to sleep away the intoxicants of the giddy fashion of the Narragansett planter. These festive and hilarious seasons would sometimes continue for days and the banquets among the landed proprietors continued during the harvest season. Corn-husking introduced the autumnal festivals, and invitations went out to all the families of the countryside. In return, the slaves of the guests were sent to the host to aid by their services and to enter into the hilarity of the occasion, as bountiful provision was made for them and like amusements were enjoyed by them in the great kitchens and slave houses of the farms. The harvest moon shone upon great companies of both sexes and of all ages, except young children, in front of the harvested, unhusked pile, stripping the ears of Rhode Island corn and throwing them on the growing heap, reserving the red ears for the kissing frolic that was to follow. Stories, laughter, fun, patriotic and love songs made the early evening hours short and enjoyable, when, at the signal of the host leader, the party adjourned to the great dining hall, where hot roasts, baked puddings, pies, cake, sauces, wines, cider, whiskey and all other creature comforts were expensively and bountifully provided and vigorously attacked by greedy appetites, sharpened by the bright autumnal evening air, in vigorous bodily and mental exercise. After the feast, congratulations to the host and hostess and the retirement of the older

group to their homes, the major remnant of young folks now repaired to the dance hall, when,

"No sleep 'till morn where youth and pleasure meet,
To chase the glowing hours with flying feet."

It is said that for more than a century, the husking festival was indulged in by the great landed proprietors, a single farmer having had a thousand bushels of corn husked in one day.

The Christmas holidays were great festive occasions and the twelve days of the season were devoted to all the proprieties of the plantations. All relations, by blood or marriage, were accorded this largest generous hospitality both in giving and receiving. The circuit of the planters' homes was open to all and acquaintances were made as welcome as relatives and often more graciously entertained. Every member of the plantation had his favorite horse and servant, the servant being a necessary companion to open gates and to care for the horse, as there were few public roads, and, in the eighteenth century, but few carriages. Drift-ways connected the plantation and a ride of a few miles encountered twice as many gates as miles, oftentimes a half dozen bars were a substitute for a substantial gate. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, Quiddnesset, Boston Neck, Point Judith and other sections of the Narragansett country had no public roads and to our own day that section has fewer public ways than any other part of Rhode Island. The horse and his rider and slave servant were adapted to such a land of gates, bars and drift-ways.

The great occasion of the elder day in the south plantations was the wedding. Mr. Updike says the exhibition of expensive apparel and the attendance of guests almost exceeds belief. It is said that the wedding was the great gala occasion at old Narragansett. One of these great days was the marriage of Mr. Nicholas Gardiner and Miss Hannah Champlin, about 1754, when six hundred guests attended. We have no record of the dress of the groom and bride, nor of the array of beauty, courtliness, dress, fashion, but one's imagination may have a wide flight in even a faint conception of the parties to such an event;—in later times Mr. Gardiner, now a Narragansett squire, dressed in the rich style of former days, with a cocked hat, full-bottomed white wig, snuff-coloured coat and waistcoat with deep pockets, cape low so as not to disturb the wig, and at the same time expose the large silver stock buckle of the plaited neckcloth of white linen cambric, small clothes, and white-topped boots finely polished. In such a fashion was the old-time south county country gentleman arrayed. Even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed as one of the ancient planters of Narragansett, and the Queen of Sheba

might have taken lessons in dress and manners of a Narragansett matron of the old school.

The healthy amusements and recreation of the wealthy land-owners of Narragansett were narrow and homely compared with those of the wealthy of the last half century. Hunting and fishing yielded both delightful recreation and profit. Deer roamed the forests plentifully. Bear and wolves were not uncommon, while foxes, the red and the gray, were common and were hunted on special mounts, with hounds and horns, ladies joining gentlemen in the chase. The woods were literally full of wild pigeons, partridges, quail, woodcocks, squirrel and rabbits, while the fresh ponds and salt sea were alive with innumerable food fish. In the fall and winter seasons, sea water-fowl were abundant and wild-geese and ducks furnished an endless supply of delicious food for the tables of big families and their servant retinue. Prodigal men drew on nature's prodigal resources for the support of prodigal estates.

The plantations of the landed aristocracy of Rhode Island were as extensive and as well peopled as those of the Virginia or Carolina planters. Major John Mason, of Pequot fame, in a letter to the Colony of Connecticut, dated Aug. 3, 1670, says: "Those places, (in Narragansett), that are in any way considerable, are already taken up by several men, in farms and large tracts of land, some having five, six, and ten miles square—yea, and some I suppose, have much more, which you or some of youes may see or feel here after. These things I know to be true." Updike states that the original tract owned by Richard Smith, father and son, at Cocumscussue, was three miles wide and nine miles long. The farm of Robert Hazard included the Jenckes farm to the south end of Boston Neck, and extended west to and including the territory of Peacedale. He had also extensive ranges for cattle and horses near Worden's Pond, occupying about 12,000 acres, the land of greatest value on the Hazard farm was 2,000 acres on Boston Neck and the bottom lands of the Pettaquamscutt rivers. Lieut. Gov. William Robinson's farm embraced the north end of Point Judith. Col. Joseph Stanton of Charleston had one tract four and a half miles long and two miles wide; he kept forty slaves and forty horses, with a great herd of cows which made a great dairy, besides other farm products. His son Lodowick Stanton kept thirty cows on one hundred and fifty acres of the big farm of his father. Col. Christopher Champlin had over 1,000 acres in one tract, kept thirty-five horses, fifty-five cows, about seven hundred sheep and owned at least fifty slaves to do the work. Hezekiah Babcock of Hopkinton improved 800 acres. James Babcock of Westerly owned two thousand acres with horses, cattle, sheep and slaves to the limit of his estate. Colonel Joseph Noyes had four hundred acres with twenty-two horses, twenty-five cows and about

twenty-five slaves. His son, later, kept fifty-two cows on the same farm. Col. Daniel Updike, Attorney General of the Colony, owned three thousand acres of land, with the usual furnishings of cattle, horses and slaves. Samuel Sewall, son of the celebrated witch-judge, Samuel Sewall, of Massachusetts, inherited from his mother, sixteen hundred acres on Point Judith, Mrs. Sewall being the daughter of John Hull, the mint-master of Boston. Hannah Hull, the only child of John and heiress of the Narragansett lands, left the whole of a large fortune, coming from her father, to her two sons, Samuel and Joseph Sewall, D. D., of Boston. The Gardiners, Nileses, Bulls, Brentons and others of the old families owned great tracts of valuable farm lands. The smaller farms averaged about three hundred acres. All these ancient farms, large and small, were improved by the manual labor of Indians and negro slaves. Corn, tobacco, butter, cheese and wool were the staple products of the farm for home consumption and for market, while horses were raised for export.

The raising of tobacco was introduced by Dr. Moffat for the purpose of the manufacture of snuff to supply the place of the great quantity imported from Glasgow. Finding no one in this country capable of setting up a snuff mill, he wrote to Scotland and obtained a millwright by the name of Gilbert Stuart. In 1751, a co-partnership was formed between Dr. Thomas Moffat and Edward Cole of Newport and Gilbert Stuart of North Kingstown to erect a mill and manufacture snuff at Pettaquamscutt. The site selected for the mill was at a fall, where the Mattatoxet fresh water river reaches the head of the Narrow of Pettaquamscutt tidal river, in the southeastern part of North Kingstown, where there had been a corn gristmill for many years. The house and mill were one building, the machinery for the factory being in the basement, with the dwelling house above. Traces of a great fire place and machinery have been recently found in the basement. This was the first mill erected in New England for the manufacture of this once strange but popular luxury, indulged in by both sexes. The house over the mill became the home of Gilbert Stuart who had married, in 1751, Elizabeth Anthony, daughter of Altro and Susanna Hefferman Anthony, of Newport, reputed to be a woman of remarkable beauty. Gilbert Stuart, Jr., was born in the little room in the northeast corner of the house, first floor, December 3, 1755.

"Rhode Island cheese," the best made in New England, came from Narragansett farms. The biggest dairy farm milked about one hundred and ten cows, cut two hundred tons of hay, made about thirteen thousand pounds of cheese, besides a large amount of butter. Another farmer made ten thousand pounds of cheese from seventy-three cows in five months and besides the cheese each cow would produce from seventy to eighty pounds of butter. Each milch cow required two acres of good

pasture. The Sewall farm kept one hundred cows and produced thirteen thousand pounds of cheese annually. Nicholas Hazard from forty-two cows produced nine thousand two hundred pounds of cheese. Joseph N. Austin produced eight thousand pounds from thirty-six cows. Rowland Robinson improved a thousand acres, had an immense dairy and obtained an average of two pounds of cheese a day from each cow. It is said that the wife of Richard Smith, Sen., brought from Gloucestershire, England, to New England the recipe for making the celebrated Cheshire cheese, and by it the Narragansett cheese was made. Cream was used in cheese giving to it richness and fine flavor. The price of the cheese was ten dollars per one hundred pounds. When the demand for butter became general and the price of butter exceeded that of cheese, cream was used for the more valuable product and the price and quality of the cheese were both diminished.

The Narragansett dairy was supervised by the mistress superior of the house. Mrs. Robert Hazard had twelve negro women as dairy maids, each of whom had a girl assistant, each woman of the twelve making from twelve to twenty-four cheeses a day. One cheese vat held nearly a bushel. The grass of the early Colonial days was superior in quality and quantity, producing in butter and cheese nearly double that of later days. The milk of twelve cows was cared for by each of the twelve dairy women. Mr. Hazard states that the hay fields and meadows "grew full of grass," as is the case to-day on new prairie land in the West. Four thousand sheep were kept on the Hazard farm, the wool being manufactured into clothing, as was the flax, by and for his own household. Late in life, after a division of his farm among his children he congratulated himself on the reduction of his family for the winter, "being only seventy in parlour and kitchen."

The Narragansett country was the slave paradise of the northern colonies. Every farm had its quota and the family life of the slaves was recognized and protected. Labor indoors or out was not excessive, the relation of master to slave was kind and humane and punishments for offenses were usually mild and corrective. The social and convivial life of the masters, mistresses and young people was communicated to the servant class and the natural happy-go-easy spirit of the slaves was made more joyous by the examples of their superiors. Domestic slavery in Rhode Island was the outcome of the demand for labor, under the best conditions for happy productivity. The well-to-do land class had no occasion to use the lash, for competence and quick returns of farm products sustained the optimistic spirit of contentment and satisfaction. The slave knew no shackles except for crime, and great freedom was allowed within plantation limits. Indulgence rather than severity characterized

the Narragansett masters. A fair illustration of the relation of slave and master appears in the annual election of a Governor on the third Saturday in June, in imitation of the white people. This event was participated in by both negro and Indian slaves, who stood on an equal footing, even in the land where the ancestors of the Indians held absolute sway as freemen of the forests and seas. The day was a festive as well as an anxious one, for party spirit and personal likes and dislikes held sway in savage breasts. The slaves of each family assumed the pride and rank of their master and it was degrading to the reputation of the owner, if his family slaves appeared at the polls on election day in poor apparel or with less money in his pocket than the slaves of another family of equal wealth. The horses of the planters were all surrendered on election day to the slaves, and with queues real or false, heads pomatumed and powdered, cocked hats, mounted on the best Narragansett pacers, sometimes wearing their master's swords, with their ladies on pillions on blooded steeds, they pranced to the great mansion house or grove for election, arriving at ten o'clock in the forenoon.

Now began a series of moves that no artist's pencil has ever put on canvass. The assemblies were large, for the politico-festal day drew the whole population to witness its semi-serious drollness. It was the real *opera bouffe*, staged by the most original actors. Dismounting from their pacers at the election-center, the pacers were taken in charge by their owners or appointed servants and the African and Narragansett blend, lords and ladies of a day, entered at once upon the active canvass for the candidates of their choice. "*Parmateering*" (parliamentteering) had been going on for weeks in the plantations. Family pride and influence had been exerted and even planters' money spent for favorite family candidates, in all of which the white owners had taken an active interest. Tables with rich refreshments, including fashionable side board drinks, were spread, and the great throng of expectant voters were solicited to eat, drink and be merry, at the expense of the rival candidates. For three hours the day's camp was the scene of uproarious electioneering, mingled with singing and the music of the fife and drum. At one o'clock in the afternoon the election proper began. The vote was taken by ranging the friends of each candidate in rows, the candidate at the head of his line of friends and supporters. It may be easily assumed that the masters were not idle spectators in the formation of the voting lines, which were under the direction of a chief marshal with assistants. Guy Watson, who distinguished himself in the negro regiment under Col. Christopher Greene at Red Bank, New Jersey, acted as chief marshal, after the Revolution. Tumultuous noise and excitement with party wrangling ruled the great throng, until the election proper began, when the

marshal proclaimed silence, and the lines began to form, after which no man could change from one leader to another. While the men only voted, the women had their "innings" in support of their favorite candidates until the party lines were formed, when all electioneering was at an end. Silence reigned, until the count was made and, in a loud voice, the chief marshal announced the name of the successful candidate. Shouts of victory, loud and prolonged, followed and all were invited to the election entertainment, which corresponded in extravagance to the wealth of the master of the Governor-elect.

The inauguration followed, under the afternoon sun of a long June day. At the inaugural dinner the Governor took the great chair of state at the head of the long table, with his defeated rival in a seat on his right and his lady on his left. The Governor had been declared elected for the ensuing year, and the feast of meats and the flowing bowl made election day happiness supremely complete. Neither haste or waste ruled the festal hour, for the hungry crowd

"Devoured the cattle, fowl and fish,
And left behind an empty dish."

According to custom, toasts, speeches and music followed the dinner. The defeated candidate, introduced by the marshal, drank the first toast in honor of his successful rival and the fragrance and flavor of the cheery cup seemed to soothe party strife and all animosities of pre-election advocacy and effort were drowned in the precious contents of the election bowl. The balance of the later afternoon was spent in dancing, music, love-making, games and athletics. About 1800, a slave of the Hon. Elisha R. Potter was elected Governor, the canvass for which was very expensive to his master. Soon after election, Mr. Potter, in conversation with the Slave-Governor remarked that one or the other must give up politics or the great cost of the campaigns would ruin both. Governor John decided to abandon politics in favor of his master, and retired to private life. It can be readily seen that where such events occurred of which the one here described was a sample, the relation between master and slave must be most kindly, and that a reciprocal regard and service made Rhode Island slavery an institution, educational, moral, elevating, and in the main beneficial and serviceable to all concerned, at least that was true in the Narragansett country.

Referring again to the products of the Narragansett country, we must not omit one of its most noted,—the Narragansett pacer,—the first American racer that could make a mile in less than three minutes. In 1677, Mr. John Hull, of Boston, maker of pine tree shillings, addressing one of his Pettaquamscutt partners, suggested if a good stone wall was built

across the upper end of Point Judith Neck so that no mongrel breed could debase them, that they might raise large and fair mares and horses for home use and export to the West Indies. The fence was probably built, for, a few years later, horses were so plentiful that special regulations were made for their registration and in 1686 Gov. Dudley ordered the seizure and sale of thirty horses, the proceeds to be used for building a jail. The pacer belonged to a distinct class or breed, as was shown by size, color, gait and fleetness in racing. The pacer was of medium size, of a bay or black color. A long head and neck were supported by a deep heavy chest, with a small loin girth and long, thin legs. In racing, the head and neck seemed on a horizontal line with the fore shoulders, the animal seeming to fly over the ground rather than to run. His pedigree is unknown and one theory is as good as another, although the Point Judith wild horse origin is not credible. The sire of the pacer must have been imported and the story that he was brought from Spain by William Robinson may be true, but not probable. The more important fact remains that the Narragansett planter was a natural horseman and an excellent trainer of horses, and that almost any breed of good honest blood, English, French, Spanish or West Indian would be, in the hands of a gentleman of leisure and spirit, as clay in the hands of the moulder. Horse racing was a common amusement of the planter class, and when the training for the pacing habit became an occupation of the hitherto leisure people, both pleasure and profit were combined. Equine intelligence and sportive instinct readily accept and enjoy the training for strength, speed and endurance, and it is not too much to accept that the Narragansett pacer was the creation of the Narragansett planter, dealing sympathetically with the most human of all animals, the horse. It was the day of the horse, and horse and rider won glorious conquests of speed of efficiency and valor. An English traveller, writing in 1795, says, "Narragansett has been famed for an excellent breed of pacing horses, remarkable for their speed and hardiness, and for enduring the fatigues of a journey; this breed of horses has, however, much depreciated of late, the best mares having been purchased by the people from the westward." Dr. James MacSparran, missionary in Kingstown, wrote in 1759: "The Produce of this Colony is principally Butter and Cheese, fat Cattle, Wool and fine Horses, that are exported to all parts of English America. They are remarkable for fleetness and swift Pacing, and I have seen some of them pace a mile in a little more than *two* minutes, a good deal less than three." It is probable that the distinguished cleric had no stop-watch by which to time the races.

Udike tells us that the landed aristocracy showed an early regard for the proper education of their children. Books were few in quantity,

but solid in quality and well read or studied. Many of the old families of Narragansett had libraries of the best English, Latin and Greek authors. Well educated English tutors emigrated to the New England colonies and were employed by the wealthy families to instruct their sons and daughters. Individual instruction developed individual characteristics, so marked in the men and women of the early colonial days. Private education developed the talents of the few. Public education tended to level all to a standardized uniformity. Learned clergymen of all creeds became the tutors in Narragansett families. In addition to his widely scattered parish work as an Episcopal priest, Dr. MacSparran found time to instruct the lads and young ladies in the classics and mathematics of that early day. Rev. John Checkley, a graduate of Oxford, was a popular instructor of the Updikes and Hazards; Rev. James Honeyman, of Newport, was an educational magnet that drew young fellows of talent and ambition to his study to enjoy the best learning. Daniel Vernon, English born and educated, was in his later life a teacher in the family of Daniel Updike, and died in that service. Dr. MacSparran, Mathew Robinson, Daniel Updike, Rev. Mr. Fayerweather and the Hazard families had valuable collections of classical and English books, while Colonel Updike and Matthew Robinson had large libraries of treasured books, pamphlets and manuscripts surpassed by few in any of the colonies. Colonel Robinson, who owned a farm of eight hundred acres, which included the lands about the station at Kingston, was a collector of rare and valuable pamphlets and his library was called the largest and most valuable in New England at that period—1709-1795. He was a careful student of colonial history and made abundant notes concerning men and events, which have, unfortunately, been destroyed. During the whole of the eighteenth century, Newport and Narragansett were the literary centers of New England and the eminent men, who were born and reared in the two south counties of the Colony of Rhode Island, are the most conclusive evidence of the intellectual supremacy of these two remarkable sources of power and influence.

The first signer of the "Company of Redwood Library" at Newport was Colonel Daniel Updike, 1693-1757, born at Cocumscussuc, great-grandson of Richard Smith and Gysbert op-ten Dyck, the latter marrying the daughter of Richard Smith. The titles of one hundred and fifty volumes of the Colonel Daniel Updike library may be found in volume i, "History of the Narragansett Church," edition 1907, pages 422-23. The Robinson library was sold at his death and is lost beyond memory.

Concerning slavery, negro and Indian, in the Narragansett country, some more things should be said, not by way of justification of the commerce in human flesh, but in illustration of the safeguards established for the protection of the slave from his own savage instincts and passions.

We have already seen that the great plantations afforded ample opportunity for a large number of laborers, beyond the ordinary supply from native sources, and it is difficult to see how the development of great farms could have been carried out without cheap slave labor. At any rate the planters adopted the slave system then in vogue in the West Indies and in all the colonies to a greater or a less degree. In 1730 South Kingstown had a population of 965 whites, 333 negroes and 223 Indians—or 656 slaves to 965 whites—forty per cent. slave to sixty per cent. free. In 1748 the town had 1,405 whites and 573 negroes and Indians. It appears that the ratio of slaves had decreased owing to the greater productivity of the whites and the increased death rate of slave babies. But this Narragansett county gave the slave population a ratio in excess of all sections of the colonies north of Virginia, and this ratio continued, with little variation, until the Revolutionary War. X

The slave code of Rhode Island, which in large measure sprang out of the needs of the south county, shows a strictness growing out of the demands of the people for safeguarding themselves and for keeping the slaves at home on the plantations. A summary of colonial and town laws is suggestive of prudential care: (1704-1750) No negroes or Indians, freemen or slaves, to be abroad after nine at night on penalty of not exceeding fifteen stripes; no housekeeper to entertain a negro or Indian slave without first consent of the owner; no housekeeper to suffer any servant or slave to have any dancing, gaming or diversion of any kind, on penalty of fifty pounds or one month's imprisonment—if the host was a free negro or Indian, he, she or they should no longer be allowed to keep house, but should be "dispossessed of his, her or their house or houses, and shall be put into some private family to work * * * for the space of one year, the wages accruing to be for the benefit of the town." In South Kingstown a law was passed that if any negro slave be found at any house of a free negro, both the slave and free negro should be whipped. In 1726 the town prohibited negroes and Indians from holding social out-of-door gatherings. Liquor could not be sold to a slave without the master's permission. To prevent negroes from acquiring property in cattle, a law was passed forbidding negroes keeping "any stock of creatures in this town of any sort" under a penalty of thirty-one lashes. These laws show the protection thrown around the slaves against the attempt of liquor dealers to sell them their wares, and also against the efforts of free negroes to win the slaves away from their homes and masters. At the same time these laws protected the masters in preserving home discipline and in protecting the safety of their chattel property. Very little concern was exercised for the moral and religious education of the slave in the south county before the coming of Dr. MacSparran. Inspired by the influence of the society which sent him to America, he reported, in 1741, X

that he had begun "catechetical lectures" to the negro slaves, spending an hour each Lord's Day in instructing them religion. On one occasion he reports an hundred present. The English society issued "an address to masters and mistresses of families." * * * "Let me beseech you to consider them not merely as slaves, and upon the same level with laboring beasts, but as men slaves and women slaves, who have the same frame and faculties with yourselves, and have souls capable of being made happy, and reason and understanding to receive instruction in order to it." As the Narragansett planters became, in large measure, attendants and communicants of Dr. MacSparran's Episcopal Church, such appeals, added to his humane and Christian labors, changed the mental attitude of masters toward their slaves and consequently a better condition of slave life. The Quaker influence in Narragansett not only modified the relations of master and slave, but raised up a body of men and women in the community, non-slave holding, whose efforts for human freedom did not cease until the system of slavery was destroyed, root and branch. The first break in the chain of slavery was the stoppage of importation, in which Rowland Robinson and Colonel Thomas Hazard were engaged. Newport still stood as the center of importation, trade and the distilling of rum, there being no less than twenty-two stills in that town. The Rhode Island law of 1774 was a blow at the slave trade as well as at the ownership of slaves. Meanwhile, social, moral and economic reasons were at work towards the abolition of slavery, not only in its stronghold in Narragansett, but wherever it existed in New England.

As early as 1757 the quiet but convincing arguments of the Quakers began to be felt in South Kingstown. At a monthly meeting a paper was received from Richard Smith as "his testimony against keeping slaves and his intention to free his negro girl." A few years later one of the Rodman family was troubled in mind over a slave, was condemned by the quarterly meeting as well as his own, and a full denial of the purchaser, on account of his buying a negro slave, was called for. The Rathbun case of conscience is an interesting one, as showing the nature of the reform going on in society through the Quakers. Mr. Joshua Rathbun wrote to the monthly meeting of Friends:

I hereby acknowledge that I have acted Disorderly in purchasing a Negro Slave which Disorder I was ignorant of at the time of the purchase, but having conversed with several Friends upon the subject of Slavery, have gained a knowledge I was heretofore ignorant of, both as to the rules of our Society as well as the nature and inconsistency of making slaves of our fellow Creatures, and therefore free to condemn that Inconsiderate Act and desire Friends to pass it by, etc., etc.

Rathbun gave the slave to his son, who refused to give him his freedom and father and son were dismissed from the Friends' society. So per-

sistent were the Quakers in their efforts to set their own people in Rhode Island and elsewhere in New England in opposition to slavery, that in 1782 no slaves were known to be held by members of the New England yearly meeting.

Thomas R. Hazard, the biographer of his ancestor, Thomas Hazard, regards him the first man of great influence in New England, who refused to accept his father's gift of slaves, and became the ardent advocate of emancipation. Of Rowland Robinson's conversion, Higginson tells this story:

The Narraganset Magnate, Rowland Robinson, said impulsively one day, "Shipmaster, I have not servants enough; go fetch me some from Guinea." Upon this, the master of a small packet of 20 tons belonging to Mr. Robinson, fitted her out at once, set sail for Guinea and brought home eighteen slaves, one of whom was the son of an African King. This employer burst into tears on their arrival, his order not having been seriously given.

Another writer states that Mr. Robinson, when he saw the forlorn, woebegone faces of the men and women as they came from the slave packet, some of them too feeble to stand alone, the enormity of his sin against humanity so overcame him that he wept—nor would he consent that a single slave that fell to his share, twenty-eight in all, should be sold, but took them all to his own estate, where they were kindly cared for, though held as slaves.

It is a fact worthy of note and of study that out of the Narragansett country has been raised a body of men and women of great physical endowments, mental abilities, educated efficiency and high moral and Christian character—much larger in proportion to numbers than from any other section of Rhode Island, or even of New England. Our modern system of public education found its ablest leaders in the south county, legislation State and National have found its ablest exponents there, jurisprudence its strongest advocates and expounders, and the last report on slavery in Rhode Island, combining history with present conditions and recommendations, issued from the pen of Hon. Elisha R. Potter, in 1844, a descendant of the old families of the Narragansett county.

The Narragansett planters were so famous and set such a pace in the Rhode Island history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the omission of a number of leading families would reflect on historic fullness and individualism. Time adds romance and imaginative superiority to men, who, in a new land, attempted to set up the standards of their English ancestry, long dead across the seas, and in that effort made so good their endeavor. Among those who figured in the KING'S PROVINCE we may name Jahleel Brenton, a grandson of Governor William Brenton, a founder of Newport. He married Frances Cranston, daughter of Gov-

ernor Samuel Cranston, who gave him fifteen children, and a second wife presented him with seven more; Dr. Joshua Babcock, born 1707, a friend and correspondent of Franklin, the first citizen, legislator and judge of his time; Colonel Joseph Stanton, of Charlestown, his house still standing on the Pequot Trail, the ancestor of a noble family; Colonel Christopher Champlin, a great-grandson of Jeffrey Champlin; Deputy Governor George Hazard, a great-grandson of the original Thomas Hazard, and Deputy Governor Robert Hazard, also a great-grandson of Thomas; Colonel John Potter, who owned a valuable library and grandsire of Deputy Governor Samuel J. Potter; the Gardiners from Newport, four sons of George—Benoni, Henry, George and Nicholas; Colonel Francis Willett, a grandson of Captain Thomas Willett, of Plymouth and Wannoisett; Deputy Elisha Cole, one of the largest landholders; Rouse Helm, ancestor of a family of distinction; Colonel Daniel Updike, born at "Smith's Castle," the ancestor of the eminent men of his name in Narragansett; Colonel Robert Brown, son of Captain John Brown, of Newport; Dr. Thomas Moffat, a learned physician and tobacconist; Samuel Sewall, son of the noted witch judge of Massachusetts; Colonel William Coddington, of the Governor Coddington family; Jireh Bull, son of Governor Henry Bull, of Newport; Dr. MacSparran, the Episcopal clergyman, and many others. From these Narragansett families and others of like blood and rank have arisen men and women who have figured large in local and State history, for ability, patriotism and heroism.

The south county has given to the State the services of Samuel Ward, William Gregory and George H. Utter as governors; of lieutenant governors there have been George Hazard, William Robinson, Robert Hazard, Samuel J. Potter, George Brown, Jeremiah Thurston, Benjamin B. Thurston, John J. Reynolds, Edwin R. Allen and George H. Utter; Asa Potter, S. H. Cross, George H. Utter and Charles P. Bennett have been secretaries of State; John G. Perry was general treasurer; Daniel Updike was attorney-general for eighteen years; Elisha R. Potter was for five years commissioner of public schools; of speakers of the House of Representatives, Narragansett has furnished Edward Greenman, Jeremiah Gould, George Hazard, William Robinson, Francis Willett, Jeremiah Niles, Joshua Babcock, Richard Bailey, Joseph Stanton, Jr., Elisha R. Potter, Christopher Allen, Sylvester G. Sherman and George H. Utter; in the Continental Congress sat Jonathan J. Hazard, Samuel Ward, Peter Phillips and Sylvester Gardiner; our first Senator in the United States Congress was Joseph Stanton, Jr., who was succeeded by Samuel J. Potter and later by Nathan F. Dixon and Nathan F. Dixon, Jr.; in the National House of Representatives, this section has sent Elisha Potter, Sr., Joseph Stanton, Jr., Elisha R. Potter, Jr., Samuel H. Arnold, Benjamin B. Thurston, Nathan F. Dixon, James M. Pendleton, Nathan F. Dixon,

Jr., and George H. Utter; as judges of the Supreme Court of the State, Joshua Babcock, Thomas Wells, Stephen Potter, Sylvester G. Sherman and Elisha R. Potter; of great manufacturers, the Hazards, Babcocks, Clarkes and Arnolds have been eminent; in inventions, the Cottrells; in law, the Dixons, Updikes, Potters and Hazards; while Rowland Hazard, Sr., was not only a great manufacturer, but also a financier of national size and as a scholar and metaphysician the peer of John Stuart Mill; "Shepherd Tom" Hazard will long hold his place in the literary annals of New England as the author of "The Johnny Cake Papers;" while Elisha R. Potter, Wilkins Updike, Caroline Hazard and Ellen F. Pendleton hold high rank as New England educators. These are a few of the many distinguished persons who have sprung from the loins of the Narragansett planters.

The songs, stories and traditions of a people are quite as instructive, inspiring and suggestive as are the more formal historic records. Errors often occur in the latter, due to scant knowledge, wrong viewpoint or fault in the mechanics of recorded events, but the virtue and value of the song and tradition consist in their illumination of the commonplace and lighter phases of social and civil life. Doggerel verse or homely story often outlive stately phrases and philosophic truths. The Narragansett country is the land of romance and fiction as well as of serious fact. Every family had its peculiar traits and individualities worthy of record and many the old-time happenings and habits have found a patient recorder in a McSparran, a Hazard, an Updike or a Potter. The most sympathetic and prolific collector of Narragansett life and manner was Thomas Hazard, son of Robert, known as "College Tom," and Thomas Robinson Hazard, grandson of "College Tom," known as "Shepherd Tom"—a shepherd of men and of sheep, whose immortality rests on the inimitable "Johnny Cake Papers." To their delightful mental rambles over the south county, a later generation of Hazards—Miss Caroline and Rowland Gibson—have added valuable extensions and editorial illustrations. Love, courtship and marriage are topics in which a limited immortality inhere, and the Narragansett county, with its landed aristocracy, its fine blood, its social dignity and colonial voluptuousness, furnished noteworthy examples of the varied experiences of courtship and connubial joys and sorrows. In fact, "Shepherd Tom," in his "Recollections of Olden Times," opens his first chapter with the social tragedy, associated with the Rowland Robinson house, at the South Ferry, in which are the "Unfortunate Hannah's Chamber," and "The Lafayette Chamber" of a later entry. The story of the beautiful but "Unfortunate Hannah" has been told in graphic style by Hon. Wilkins Updike, in the "History of the Narragansett Church," and its details will be transmitted through youth and

maid, as a lover's warning, until Point Judith shall have been swallowed in the Atlantic. It is not our purpose to extend this chapter to its story-telling length, as it would require a volume to do the subject justice. The reader is referred to the several publications named to get fascinating glimpses of the Golden Age of Narragansett.



CHAPTER XXVII

SLAVERY IN RHODE ISLAND

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Slavery, or involuntary servitude, is one of the oldest practises and institutions of the human race. It probably arose out of the accident of capture in war. Savages, instead of slaying their captives found it more profitable to keep them in servitude. All the ancient oriental nations of whom we have any records, including the Jews, held slaves. Greece held slaves and Aristotle, the wise, defended slavery on the ground that inferior races must be subject to the superior. Rome held slaves, and while all men were considered by Roman jurists to be free by *natural law*, the laws of nations decreed that all captives were treated better in slavery than by death. Christianity did not abolish slavery. It only ameliorated the condition of the slave. The word itself is from Slavonia, the *slave* being the captives brought to Rome from the Slavonians, the barbarian captives. In the processes of western civilization, slavery moved with the advancing column and England as well as all other nations of western Europe became active participants in the traffic in human flesh, not merely as captives of war, but as tools for labor or instruments in war, in the hands of the more powerful races.

The discovery of America opened up rich mines of silver and gold and as the native races were not strong enough for the labor required, the Portuguese, who possessed a large part of the African coast, began the importation of African negroes as a stronger race than the Indian. Sir John Hawkins was the first Englishman who engaged in the slave traffic in which his countrymen soon legally participated. England exported from Africa no less than 300,000 slaves between the years 1680 and 1700. These were consigned to the home market or shipped to North and South America. Jamaica, earthquake shaken, received a population of 610,000 African negroes between 1700 and 1786, all to enrich the coffers of English slave traders.

Servantage, or *contract service* to families for a fixed price and stated periods as determined by legal papers called *indentures* was transmitted from England to America through our English ancestry. All the well-to-do families brought with them men and women servants, whose services had been contracted for by the families in which they were to live.

John Carver, first Governor of Plymouth Colony, brought two white men-servants, *John Howland* and *Roger Minter*, and a maid-servant and a child that was put to him, called Jasper More.

Mr. Edward Winslow, afterwards Governor, had two men-servants and a little girl, Ellen More. Isaac Allerton had a servant boy, John Hooke. Samuel Fuller had a servant boy, Wm. Butten. William White had two servants. Stephen Hopkins had two servants. William Brewster had one servant, Richard More.

I. *Servants* could not have their freedom or keep house until they had served out their time.

II. Might buy out their time.

III. Not allowed to keep house until provided with arms and ammunition as provided by the Colony.

IV. Servants not allowed to be entertained to drink or spend their time at victualling hours.

V. Servants allowed to have only five acres at first and that if they were found fit to occupy it for themselves in some convenient place.

VI. Servants were not allowed to be housekeepers or build any cottages or dwelling houses until permission had been given by the Governor or some one of the Council or an Assistant.

VII. Servants lands were to come out of the proprietors own lands, in whose service such servant had been.

Fifty acres of land allotted to the master for each servant transported to America, to be used at the master's discretion.

No servant was allowed to give, sell, or truck any commodity, without license from the master.

No person shall hire a servant for less than a year.

Any boy (whipped for running from his master) found in another plantation, not having a note from his master, shall be whipped by the constable and sent home.

No servant to have land till his master has approved his faithfulness.

Runaway servants may be pursued by men, boats, pinnaces, at public expense, and brought back by force of arms.

Servants must serve out time covenanted for on penalty of fine by court.

Instructions from England to Massachusetts Bay Colony:

As we intend not to be wanting on our parts to provyde all things needful for the maintenance and sustenance of our servants, soe may wee justly, by the laws of God & man, require obedience and honest cervicys from them, with fitting labour in their several employments, wherein if they shall be wanting and much more, if refractory, care must be taken to punish the obstinate and disobedient, being as necessary as food and raiment.

William Androws, having made assault on his master, Henry Coggan, struck him diverse blows & wickedly conspired against the life of his said master, & not only so, but did conspire against the peace & welfare of

this whole Commonwealth, was censured to be severely whipped, & delivered up as a *slave* to whom the Court shall appoynt.

John Haselwood, for theft and breaking into houses was sentenced as above, as was also *Gyles Player* (as J. H.).

Bond service of white children and adults existed in all the American colonies. It was usually a contract servantage, the various and singular terms and conditions being set forth in a sealed writing, called an indenture, signed by both parties. The usual period of service extended to the age of majority in the case of young persons and for seven years in the case of adults, or the period of full apprenticeship in case of trade-service. Food, clothing, housing and a small money consideration were the usual factors expressed in the contract. The history of this class of servants is an honorable one and witnesses to the honesty, faithfulness and honor of both the master and servant classes in New England and especially in Rhode Island Colony. A singular instance of household servantage occurred in the family of the writer. A young man named John Kitchin came to Massachusetts in 1635, as a servant in the family of Zachary Bicknell. At the end of the period of indenture, young Kitchin settled at Salem, Massachusetts, married, became wealthy for his time and sent a son to Harvard College. The Kitchin family migrated to the South and two of the family are now in the United States Congress from North Carolina, one being the floor leader of the Democrats in the House of Representatives, and one has been the Governor of North Carolina. Such men are descendants of the servant class of early New England. John Howland, another servant of a "Mayflower" family, was the founder of the Howland family of Plymouth, Newport and Providence, and the latest grammar school building in Providence was dedicated as the John Howland Schoolhouse.

Negro slavery was introduced into the Colony of Virginia in 1619. A Dutch man-of-war brought to Jamestown twenty negroes, who were sold as slaves for life. This was the first life tenure ownership of men and women adopted in any American Colony, and the beginning of American slavery. The spread of negro slavery to all the other colonies was due to two very practical, if not economic or honorable reasons. One was the ease of securing by purchase or stealing negroes from Africa and selling them at a large price to white planters. The other was the fancied but fallacious idea that slave labor was more valuable to the planter than free white labor. The moral question of the right of a man to own his fellow of any color was not raised, or if raised, was answered thus: It is better for a savage to be the slave of a civilized man than to live in a barbarous state, and the world has not outgrown the doctrine altogether, yet.

American Slavery was thus, in part, an ancestral inheritance, and in

part a native growth, springing from the social and industrial conditions and demands of the first settlers and in the central and southern colonies, of their descendants, until it was extinguished by the Civil War, 1861-5. Slavery, as relating to the absolute ownership of the person and his descendant was acknowledged at one time or another as a legal institution in all of the original Thirteen Colonies. This slavery applied to black persons or negroes from the black belt of the torrid zone. Another and a limited form of slavery was for debt or for crime and was both white and black in its personnel.

Massachusetts Bay Colony has the honor of the first legislation against slavery and the slave trade in America. This act passed by the General Court, November 4, 1646, ranks with the Free School Act of 1647 by the same colony and the founding of Harvard College in 1636. All meant freedom of *Body*, *MIND* and *SOUL*. The act reads as follows:

The Genrall Corte conceiving themselves bound by ye first oportunity to bear witness against ye haynos & crying sinn of man stealing, as also to proscribe such timely redresse for what is past, & such a law for ye future as may sufficiently deterr all othrs belonging to us where to do in such vile & most odious courses, Justly abhored of all good & iust men, do order yt ye negro interpreter, wth othrs unlawfully taken, be, by ye first oportunity, (at ye charge of ye country for prsent,) sent to his native country of Ginny, & a letter wth him of ye indignation of ye Corte thereabouts, & iustice hereof, desiring or honored Govrnor would please to put this order in execution.

Legislation as to slavery in Rhode Island followed quickly in the law of May, 1652. It is of interest to remember that John Smith of Warwick, was president, Thomas Olney of Providence, and Samuel Gorton, assistants, John Greene, Jr., recorder, Randall Holden, treasurer, and Hugh Bewitt, sergeant.

At this session of the General Assembly, the famous law against slavery was passed, believed to be, with one exception, the first legislative enactment in the history of this continent, if not of the world, for the suppression of involuntary servitude. This law was designed to prevent both white and negro slavery, both of which existed in Rhode Island at that time. By it no man could be held to service more than ten years from the time of his coming into the Colony, at the end of which time he was to be set free. Whoever refused to let him go free, or sold him elsewhere for a longer period of slavery, was subject to a penalty of forty pounds.

WHEREAS, There is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers (negroes) to that they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventinge of such practises among us, let it be ordered that no blacke mankind or white-being forced by covenant bond, or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignnes longer than ten yeares, or untill they become to bee twentie four yeares of age, if they be taken

in under fourteen, from the time of their coming within the liberties of this Collonie. And at the end or term of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants, and that man that will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long term, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.

In the "Plymouth Memories of an Octogenerian," by W. T. Davis, 1907, we find a statement that may with *equal truth be applied* to most of our New England towns of that day of slaves and slavery in Plymouth. He writes:

There is no reason to doubt that the institution of slavery was recognized, and as firmly upheld in Plymouth as in other considerable towns in the Northern States. So far as the slave trade was concerned, though it was abolished by an act of Congress in 1808, there is reason to believe that in the town of Bristol, Rhode Island, within the limits of the original Plymouth County, until by a Royal Commission in 1751, that town was taken from Massachusetts and added to Rhode Island, it was pursued, until 1820. In that year Congress declared the slave trade to be piracy, and Captain Nathaniel Gordon, engaged in the trade, was in November, 1821, convicted and executed in New York.

March 13, 1676.—An order was made by the General Assembly, in session at Newport, that every Iindian servant in the Colony, "from twelve years old and upward," should be provided with an attendant in the daytime and be locked up at night; but that "noe Indian in this Collony shall be a slave" save only for debts, covenant, etc., "as if they had been countrymen not in Warr."

A bill was also passed on August 14, of the same year, that all Indian captives under five years should be simple bond-servants till thirty years of age; all above five and under ten, till twenty-eight; above ten and under fifteen, till twenty-seven; above fifteen and under twenty, till twenty-six; while such as were above twenty and under thirty were to serve eight years, and such as were above thirty, seven years. The average price of an Indian bond-servant was about thirty-two shillings. Some sold for twelve bushels of Indian corn, some for two pounds ten shillings in silver and some for one hundred pounds of wool. Anthony Low bought five for £8. J. Rogers bought two for twenty-two bushels of corn, and Elisha Smith bought one for three fat sheep. A public auction of Indian bond-servants was held on the Town Street in Providence at the head of Crawford street, at the close of Philip's War, in which Mr. Williams figured as an interested party, in receiving a portion of the proceeds of the sale.

On August 14, 1676, two days after the death of King Philip in the swamp at the foot of Mount Hope, a town meeting was held "before

Thomas Field's house under a tree by the water side," in Providence, to take action as to Indian prisoners, the town being full of them. The place of the Field House is now occupied by the Providence Institution for Savings. In other colonies Indian prisoners were either put to death, made slaves for life or sold as slaves in the West Indies. Rhode Island had just passed, "that noe Indian in this Collony be a slave" for life. A committee was chosen of which Mr. Williams was first named to "set the disposal of the Indians now in town." It was agreed that the Indians should be sold to service from seven to twenty-five years, the proceeds of the sale to be divided among thirty men, in shares and half shares, Mr. Williams' name being first on the list for a whole share. The average price for which Indians, great and small, were sold at the auction that followed was thirty-two shillings. Arthur Fenner, William Hopkins and John Whipple, Jr., had charge of the sale. The return of the sale gave to each full share sixteen shillings four pence half penny. This transaction illustrates the principle that the colonists were merciful to their captives, and that a limited term of labor was the most satisfactory treatment of this class of offenders.

The first census of the colony of Rhode Island was taken in the year 1708. It was simply a general and unclassified count of all the people.

	Whites	Negroes*
Newport	2,203	
Portsmouth	628	
Jamestown	206	
New Shoreham	208	
Providence	1,446	
Warwick	480	
East Greenwich	240	
North Kingstown	1,200	
Westerly	570	
	570	*425
Total—7,606.	7,181	*425

The next census divided the people into whites, negroes and Indians.

In the year 1730, by order of the King, an exact census of the Colony was made with the following result:

	Whites	Negroes slave and free	Indians
Newport	3,843	649	148
Portsmouth	643	100	70
Providence	3,707	128	81
Warwick	1,028	77	73
Westerly	1,620	56	250
North Kingstown	1,875	165	65
South Kingstown	965	333	225
East Greenwich	1,149	40	34
Jamestown	222	80	19
New Shoreham	250	20	20
Total—17,935.	15,302	1,648	985

* Slave and free in the whole Colony.

The enumeration of the Colony at five periods prior to independence shows the relative white and black population, excluding Indians. The following table is a summary:

	Whites	Negroes
1708	7,181	425
1730	17,935	1,048
1749	32,773	3,007
1756	35,939	4,697
1774	59,707	3,668

The towns of Barrington, Warren, Bristol, Tiverton and Little Compton appear for the first time in the census of 1749, annexation to Rhode Island Colony from Massachusetts taking place in 1747. These towns helped to swell the negro population, which was almost wholly slave at that time. The increase of blacks of 3,049 between 1730 and 1756 was due also to these other causes,— the removal of the impost tax of 1711, slave imports from the West Indies by our colonial merchants and a direct importation from Africa by slave trade shipments to Newport, Bristol, South Kingstown. Owing to the excess of wealth in the southern section of the Colony, slavery and the trade in slaves was most vigorously carried on. "Of the negroes and slaves in Rhode Island," says Judge Potter, "the greater part were in a very few towns,—Newport, North and South Kingstown, Warwick, Bristol, Portsmouth and Jamestown. By the census of 1749, the town of South Kingstown had more negroes in it than any other except Newport. This was also the case by the census of 1774 and 1783." In 1774, Newport had 1,246, South Kingstown 440, Providence 303, North Kingstown 211, Jamestown 131, Portsmouth 122, Bristol 140, Barrington 41. At an earlier period, Kings county, now Washington, which had a third of the population of the Colony, had more than a thousand slaves. The census returns are not reliable, as it was considered honest at home to conceal property holdings from the home government in England. As a rule slaves and horses were about equal in number in any given family. Each family in Kings county had from five to forty slaves. The horses were raised for export, slaves for home consumption. Newport was the slave market of New England.

The first cargo of negroes imported from Africa to be sold into slavery in this Colony, was entered at Newport in 1696. The negroes were sold at between £30 and £35 per head. Between 1698 and 1707, negroes to the number of twenty or thirty a year were imported from Barbados and were sold at from £30 to £40 a head, but there was no great demand, as only the wealthy merchants and well-to-do farmers could afford slave property and the north end of the Colony about Warwick and Providence was poor.

With the opening year of the eighteenth century came the great oppor-

tunity for wealth, which the merchants and mariners of Newport gladly welcomed and promptly used. Africa produced negroes in abundance and slavery was considered a missionary scheme to convert barbarians into producers among civilized peoples. The West Indies raised sugar cane by slave labor and the cane was the source of molasses and sugar. The sugar and molasses could be converted into rum, and rum had a brisk home market as well as a large demand from the Guinea Coast. The Colonial conscience that halted at the door of soul liberty, was easy in self-content in converting molasses into rum, in transporting the rum to Africa to make an exchange of rum for negroes, who were carried to the West Indies and sold to sugar planters as slaves. The money received for slaves was used in part to buy a shipload of sugar and molasses for the merchant's distillery at Newport. A single voyage had three ventures. Rum purchased the negroes. The negroes were sold for gold. The gold bought the sugar. The distillery converted it into another cargo of rum. This endless chain of rum, negroes, sugar, with its endless return of gold to Newport, made our Colonial seaport one of the wealthiest and busiest on the American Coast. This wealth distributed in various ways gave independence and culture to Newport society and a community spirit to the people of the growing town. Bristol and Wickford and the Narragansett Plantations also engaged in the lucrative slave trade in its triangular course. Colonel Thomas Hazard and Rowland Robinson were among the slave traders of Narragansett. At Bristol the Dimans and De-Wolfs were engaged in the trade, while at Newport nearly all the merchants shared in its perils and its profits. Providence was then within the control of the agricultural class and had not yet entered on the commercial or manufacturing enterprises which in the latter half of the century, brought fame and fortune to the people of the Upper Narragansett.

According to Governor Richard Ward, the Colony of Rhode Island had a merchant marine of 120 sail, "some on the Coast of Africa." It is estimated that at least one-half of the tonnage of Colonial vessels was engaged in the rum-slave business. Newport had between twenty and thirty distilleries. Bristol had several. The African trade called for 1800 hogsheads of rum annually, which was exchanged for negroes, gold dust and ivory. So great was the demand for rum for purchasing negroes that it was impossible to buy a hogshead of liquor for home use. So prosperous was our sea trade that in 1763, the Colony had increased in vessels to 184, not counting 342 small coasters. The work of ship building was carried on at Newport, Bristol, Warren, Barrington and Providence. The vessels adapted for ocean voyages, registered about fifty tons, rigged as sloop or brig, and cost about \$7,500 apiece. Each vessel could carry a cargo of rum to the amount of 125 to 150 hogsheads, besides provisions,

for the round trip, arms, ammunition and slave shackles. The hazards of the voyage were many, including "men-of-war, enemies, pyrates, rovers, thieves, jettisons, letters of mark and counter-mark, surprizals, taking at sea, barratry of the master and marines," to say nothing of the usual dangers of the sea! After a sailing voyage of from six to ten weeks, the single or small fleet of rum-laden vessels would be welcomed to some slave-trading port on the Guinea Coast by the headmen or chiefs of victorious tribes. A banquet or collation would be provided for the native slave merchants, at which rum and other liquors flowed freely and gifts of trinkets showered upon the tribesmen. Following this revel, the exchange of rum for negroes began, at the valuation of a hundred gallons of rum for an average slave. A brisk market would furnish a shipload of one hundred or more men and women in a few days, and, shackled and ironed between decks,—a space three feet and ten inches high,—the men stretched on their backs, feet out board, the voyage to the West Indies would begin.

A letter from Jeremiah Diman, captain of a Bristol slave trader, to Captain James De Wolf of that town, throws light on a dark picture:

St. Thomas, April 1, 1796.

This will inform you of my arrival in this port safe, with seventy-eight well slaves. I lost two on the passage. I had sixty-two days passage. I received your letter and orders to draw bills on thirty days sight, but I have agreed to pay in slaves,—two men slaves at twenty-eight Joes (a Joe was a gold coin of Portugal, \$8 in value), and one boy at twenty-five Joes, and another at twenty Joes. I found times very bad on the Coast. Prime slaves are one hogshead and thirty gallons of rum or seven Joes gold, and boys one hogshead of rum. I left Captain Isaac Manchester at Anembue with ninety slaves on board, all well. To-morrow I shall sail for Havana, agreeable to your orders. I shall do the best I can, and without other orders load with molasses and return to Bristol.

Captain James DeWolf amassed a large fortune in the trade and was elected to the United States Senate, holding the position from March, 1821, to October 31, 1825, when he resigned. Among those who helped to make Bristol a noted slave port, was Captain Simeon Potter, a famous slave trader who flourished about 1764. Captain Potter represented the town in the General Assembly many years, and held the rank of major-general in the army, during the American Revolution.

Even slave traders had their trials. Stormy voyages, head winds, a dull market, no African wars, no captives, slave insurrections on ships, losses by death, poor crops of cane,—these and other troubles were frequent visitors of these triangular voyages. Captain David Lindsay, in command of the Newport brigantine Sanderson in 1753, in the most lucrative era of the slave trade, wrote a distressing letter from Anamabo:

I have Gott 13 or 14 hhds of rum yet Left aboard and God noes when I shall gett clean of it. * * * Ye traid is so dull it is actually a noof to make a man creasy * * * on the whole I never had so much trouble in all my voiges.

Writing from Barbadoes, after the "middle passage," he says:

My slaves is not landed yet. They are 56 in number for owners, all in helth & fatt. I lost one small gall.

An account of the expenses and net profits of one of these African ventures, "on the proper account and risque of Messrs. William Johnston and Peter Brown" of Newport, shows the voyage to have been a most profitable one. The cargo consisted of 14 men, 9 women, 11 "men boys," 8 small boys, 2 girls, 3 small girls and a quantity of lumber. Twenty-five men, women and "men boys" were sold at £35 apiece. The small boys sold at £20 apiece, the girls sold at £25 each, and the small girls at £22 each. The slave cargo of 47 persons sold for £1432, 12s., 6d. The lumber brought £34. The whole invoice brought a total of £1466, 13s., 6d., or about \$7350.

The permit to land slaves cost £0.5s. Duty on 47 slaves at 5s. each was £11. 15s. Paid for liquor at the sales, etc., £1, 19s., 5d. Captain's Coast Commission £55, 2s., 2d. Commissions (wages) on sales, £73, 6s., 8d. The total expense of the voyage was £142, 15s., 3d., or about \$725. Deducting the cost of the voyage, \$725 from the total receipts, \$7350, we have a gross profit to the credit of the Sanderson, Barbados, July 10, 1753, of more than \$6500. Such details show clearly why the enterprising merchants of southern Rhode Island engaged in mercantile marine adventures that had a three-fold source of profits. At the same time it is not so clear to understand how the honorable merchants of Newport and Bristol and Narragansett could, with a good conscience, engage so vigorously, even religiously, in a business, each item of which involved principles, hostile to economic law, social order and Christian civilization. The conversion of molasses into rum changed a useful food into a body and soul destroying intoxicant, but no church and no religious teacher attacked the distillery. The sending of rum to debauch and brutalize the native tribes of Africa was a crime not then written in the criminal laws of any state or of England—the mother of many states. The purchase of a God-made human being with one hundred gallons of rum is, in our day, a crime against humanity and civilization, but in the eighteenth century, legislators and governors looked upon the bargain as a legitimate one and the transfer of a black man and woman from the jungle of the dark continent to the tender mercies of a taskmaster with his lash, on a plantation of our Western Island, a deed of philanthropy

and of Christianity. "Oh cursed love of gold! What will it not force mortals to do!"

The prohibitory slave act of 1652, while not repealed, had passed into absolute neglect and forgetfulness, when England began to unload slaves upon her colonies as a profitable commerce and an answer to our demand for laborers. Rhode Island merchants found slave dealing profitable as well as serviceable to the people and after 1707 engaged in the importation of slave labor. In 1708, the colony laid an impost of £3 on each negro imported, a portion of which was used to construct and pave Newport streets to prevent "ye spoyling and damnifying of apparill." An act was passed against entertaining negro slaves or Indian servants with liquor, under penalty of a fine and a public whipping. In 1712, an act was passed requiring masters to specify the number, sex, and names of the slaves on their cargoes, for preventing clandestine importations and exportations of slaves. In July, 1715, an act was passed forbidding the import of Indian slaves on account of "divers conspiracies, insurrections, rapes, thefts and other execrable crimes" perpetrated by them. Another slave act required the entrance of the number, names and sex in the naval office and the payment of the tax of £3. A part of this tax on slave imports was to be expended for repairing and paving Newport streets. In 1729, it was ordered that half the import tax on slaves be devoted to street construction in Newport and half to the building and repair of "great bridges on the main." The import law of 1712 was repealed in 1732 by order of the king for the reason that it injured the slave trade. By an act of 1729, any person freeing a slave was required to give security of not less than £100 that such person should not become a public charge. In 1751, an act required Indians, mulatto or negro servant or slave to be in doors with the family at nine o'clock at night, and forbade traffic with a servant or slave.

In 1764 Governor Stephen Hopkins stated to the British Government that for thirty years this colony had "annually sent about eighteen sail of vessels to the coast, which have carried about eighteen hundred hogsheads of rum, together with a small quantity of provisions and other articles, which have been sold for slaves, gold dust, elephants' teeth and camwood." By the sale of slaves and other articles, the colony had sent to England £40,000 annually, and the rum, carried to the coast, had, in many cases, been exchanged for English drygoods and thus benefited the English market.

The Governor also stated there were "upwards of thirty distil houses, erected at a vast expense, constantly employed in making rum from molasses. This distillery is the main hinge upon which the trade of the colony turns, and many hundreds of persons depend immediately upon it for a subsistence."

The conscience awakening as to the sin of slavery first appeared among the Quakers of Rhode Island. It was quite fitting that the first movement in reform should be made in this colony, where slavery had most flourished in New England. The Quakers were from the first consciously awake to the fact that slaves were human beings and deserved fair treatment as such. In 1717, "a weighty concern" was on the yearly meeting at Newport "concerning the importing and keeping slaves." It was advised on "Friends everywhere to waite for ye wisdom of God how to discharge themselves in that weighty affair," and Newport merchants were advised to discourage the sending of slaves to be sold by Friends here. Ten years later the Meeting declared a censure on the importation of slaves. "College Tom" Hazard of South Kingstown, was one of the first Quakers to free his slaves as did his friend, Jeremiah Austin. John Woolman, a saintly Quaker of New Jersey, visited Rhode Island in 1747 and again in 1760, advocating with great spiritual love and earnestness the freeing of slaves. The Quaker process of reform was slow in its working, but philosophical, thorough and certain. In 1773, in yearly Meeting, the plain declaration was made that "all in a state of infancy and nonage among Friends to be discharged and set free from a state of slavery that we do no more claim property in the human race as we do in the brutes that perish." The truth as revealed to the Quaker mind was now a declared principle of the whole body and discipline was now applied to the membership, irrespective of persons, Governor Hopkins of Providence being one of the first to be put from under their care. As Stephen Hopkins went out of the Quaker Society, his friend Moses Brown came in, in preparation for which step he freed all his slaves.

In 1774, a committee of seven was chosen at the Yearly Meeting at Newport to use their influence with the General Assembly of the Colony to make such laws "as will tend to the abolition of slavery and to get such laws repealed as in any way encourage it."

It must be confessed that Rhode Island people were never strongly wedded to slavery. In the early days, twenty or thirty was the annual supply at from \$150 to \$200 each, and these were only owned in the south part of the State. The large wealthy planters, the only ones who bought many slaves, did not like them "by reason of their turbulent and unruly tempers," and the general preference of employing white laborers rather than black. Slavery was never an economical advantage in Rhode Island or the other New England Colonies. It was encouraged by the merchant class as a source of wealth, and was tolerated by the agricultural class, as affording household service or performing the drudgery of farm labor. England also encouraged it as a source of income to the Government, inasmuch as a contract with the French Guinea Company

gave her forty-eight hundred slaves annually for thirty years, making her the slave trader of Christendom and the market man of slaves for North and South America.

In 1715, several women of Huguenot origin, fleeing the Yemassee War in South Carolina, brought a few Indian slaves to Rhode Island, and relief from the import duty was granted them. This seems to be the only instance of life tenure of Indian slaves in Rhode Island, though that and all other slavery had been declared illegal.

While the Quakers were debating the right and wrong of slavery, Massachusetts and Rhode Island were arriving at the conclusion that the slave trade was immoral and contrary to the Colonial interests. In 1770, an act to prohibit further importation of slaves was introduced in the Assembly of Rhode Island. The decision of Lord Mansfield of England, was of immense value in determining public and political opinion on the subject of slavery. The opinion was given in the famous Somerset case. This slave was taken from the Colony of Virginia to England by his master. Refusing to serve in England, his master decided to send him to Jamaica for sale. A writ of habeas corpus brought the issue of slave and master before the Court of King's Bench. The distinguished jurist declared that slavery could only exist by positive law, that there were no English laws authorizing slavery, and that the proposed action of the Virginia owner was directly contrary to the laws of England. He therefore ordered the freedom of Somerset and proclaimed the new and unexpected judgment that slavery could not legally exist on English soil. This was an act that laid the axe at the root of the Upas tree of slavery on English soil the world around. Its effect was to stimulate public opinion, to encourage legislation and to hasten the emancipation of slaves in New England.

In April, 1774, an act of singular historical interest occurred at Providence. A man dying intestate, without heirs, his property, including six slaves, fell to the town. At a town meeting, the voters declared that "it is unbecoming the character of freemen to enslave the said negroes," gave the slaves their freedom and the town's protection. They also resolved, "as personal liberty is an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," to petition the Assembly to prohibit the further importation of slaves and to declare that all negroes born in the Colony should be free after a certain age.

At Newport, June, 1774, Joseph Wanton, Governor, the General Assembly passed the memorable act prohibiting the importation of slaves into the Colony. The preamble declares that "those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others." The act provided that any negro or mulatto

slave brought into the Colony should be immediately free, "so far as respects freedom and the enjoyment of private property, the same as native Indians." The act allowed passing travellers to bring and carry slaves, and British Colonists who had a temporary residence. Other sections forbade other than temporary retention of slaves brought into the Colony. A fine was prescribed for freeing a slave to become a public charge, and likewise for harboring a slave. This was the earliest law passed by any Colonial legislature and reflects the sentiment not only of the Quakers of Rhode Island but of her merchant and agricultural classes. Stephen Hopkins led the Providence delegation and was probably author of the act. Among the leading members who figured in the struggle for American independence were Metcalf Bowler, Joshua Babcock, William Greene, Carder Hazard, Israel Wilkinson, Rufus Hopkins, Chad Browne, Robert Stanton, Thomas Allin and William Bradford.

This act however, like that of 1652, was of little value except as a register of political opinions of that day. A prohibitory law does not become effectual except as protected by a penalty commensurate with the criminality of the offense committed. The law of 1774 had a moral value but no executive force. Like a blank cartridge, it made a noise in the explosion, but there was no missile enclosed to hit the mark. Still more, a criminal law is not self-executing. Officers must arrest and courts must hear and decide on legal offences. Blind officers make blind laws, and laws without penalties against their infraction invite and encourage law breakers. We may applaud this virtuous law against the importation of slaves, but we must also record the fact that it did not prohibit the slave trade in Rhode Island, which continued, in a clandestine way, even after the Federal law of 1808. In an oration at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1820, Daniel Webster said:

The African slave trade is a pirate and a felon and, in the sight of Heaven, an offender far beyond the ordinary depth of human guilt.
 * * * I hear the sound of the hammer, I see the smoke of the furnaces where the manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. I see the visages of those who by stealth and at midnight labor in this work of hell, foul and dark as may become the artificers of such instruments of misery and torture. Let that spot be purified or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards and let civilized man henceforth have no communication with it. It is not fit the land of the Pilgrims should bear the shame longer.

It is supposed that Mr. Webster referred to the town of Bristol, once a part of Plymouth Colony, as the place where the trade in slaves was still carried on, as late as 1820.

In 1778, the Assembly acting upon the suggestion of General Var-

num, approved by General Washington, resolved to raise a regiment of slaves, who were to be made free on enlistment in the army. The owner of a slave, so enlisting, was to be paid according to the valuation of a committee. Six deputies protested on the grounds that there were not enough able-bodied men slaves to make a regiment, that the act would be disapproved abroad and that the owners would not be satisfied with the indemnity.

In 1779, an act was passed prohibiting the sale of slaves to parties outside the state against the will of the slave, unless the slave was a notoriously bad character.

In February, 1784, on a petition of the Quakers and as a resultant of public opinion created by a discussion of more than half a century, an act was passed for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State. All children born of slave mothers after March 1, 1784, were to be free, their support and education to be provided for by the towns in which they were born. The next year the expense of rearing a child slave born was shifted to the mother's owner. The sale or importation of slaves from Africa or the West Indies was also declared illegal but no penalties were attached to the law. In 1787, acting on a memorial of the Quakers, an act was passed by the Assembly prohibiting the African slave trade, fixing a penalty of one hundred pounds for each person imported and one thousand pounds for the vessel engaged in the trade. This was the first slave trade law that had teeth. Although the Quakers were the leaders in the anti-slavery cause, they were not the only opponents of slavery in Rhode Island. The Episcopal Church took an active part in the cause of evangelization and emancipation. Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, minister of the Congregational Church, at Newport, and later president of Yale College, and Rev. Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, founder of the Hopkinsian Sect, although their churches and attendants were made up of slave owners and traders, took a deep interest in improving the mental and moral condition of Newport slaves, while Dr. Hopkins formulated plans to return slaves, when civilized and Christianized, to colonize Africa. It must be admitted however that the great majority of church members looked at slavery and the slave trade from the commercial standpoint and were slow to act on high moral grounds in favor of emancipation, as did the Quakers.

Bishop Berkeley, writing in 1731, gives an inner view of the slave life in the colony:

The negroes in the government of Rhode Island are about half as many more than the Indians, and both together scarce amount to a seventh part of the whole Colony. The religion of these people, as is natural to suppose, takes after their masters. Some few are baptized; several frequent the different assemblies and for the greater part none

at all. An ancient antipathy to the Indians, whom it seems, our first planters imagined they had a right to tread on the foot of Canaanites or Amalekites, together with an irrational contempt of the blacks, as creatures of another species, who had no right to be instructed or admitted to the sacraments have proved a main obstacle to the conversion of these poor people. To this may be added an erroneous notion that baptism is inconsistent with a state of slavery. * * * The native Indians,—at present amount to about a thousand—are nearly all servants or laborers for the English, who have contributed more to destroy their bodies by the use of strong liquors, than by any means to improve their minds or save their souls. This slow poison jointly operating with the small-pox, and their wars, (but much more destructive than both) has consumed the Indians, not only in our colonies, but also far and wide upon our confines.

Prior to the Revolution, Newport was the center of the New England slave trade. After that war, it continued in diminishing activity, while Bristol came into greater prominence. On August 17, 1789, Samuel Hopkins wrote to Moses Brown: "The combined opposition to a suppression of the slave trade is so great and strong here that I think no anti-slavery committee formed in this town would be able to do much." In 1791, William Ellery, a Newporter, wrote: "An Ethiopian could as soon change his skin as a Newport merchant could be induced to change so lucrative a trade as that in slaves for the slow profits of any manufactory." State and Federal laws, prohibiting the slave trade, were boldly defied or artfully evaded by the daring traders of Rhode Island. When in 1803, South Carolina opened her doors to slave imports, Rhode Island slave merchants sent out slave ships in great numbers. Of 202 vessels entered at Charleston as slave carriers, between 1804 and 1807, three were from France, one from Sweden, one from Massachusetts, Connecticut one, Maryland four, Virginia two, Great Britain seventy, South Carolina sixty-one and Rhode Island fifty-nine. Ten of the fifty-nine slavers enumerated were owned, ships and cargo, by James De Wolf, of Bristol. The honors and rewards of the later slave trade were about equally divided between Bristol and Newport. Seven thousand nine hundred and fifty-eight negroes were landed at Charleston, South Carolina, in Rhode Island vessels, 3,500 in vessels from Newport, 3,900 in Bristol ships, and 556 from Providence. Conscience, law, a decrease in the slave market of the South, public opinion,—all soon turned the merchant class into broader and more useful channels of service.

CHAPTER XXVIII

BLOCK ISLAND



THE RUGGED SHORES OF BLOCK ISLAND
The Ocean View Hotel in distance

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BLOCK ISLAND.

The islands on the coast of Southern New England are interesting studies and Block Island is one of the most attractive. It is a pear-shaped bit of land and water, the stem pointing north, with an area of 10.5 square miles, or 6,720 acres. The axis of the island is an exact north and south line and the axial line is an extension of that of the northern central part of the State. The island is twelve miles from Point Judith, twenty-five from Newport and eighteen from Montauk Point, the east end of Long Island. It has Long Island Sound on the north and northwest and the Atlantic on the east, south and southwest. Block Island has been pronounced "a unique specimen of the Creator's handiwork." About one-seventh of its area is taken up with fresh and salt water ponds. The surface of the land is made up of hills and valleys as uneven as are the waters of the Atlantic that beat at its cliffs in a mighty storm. A writer, in describing the contour, says:

Imagine several tidal waves moving from west to east, each rising one hundred and fifty feet above the sea level, and their bases nearly touching each other; and on the tops, sides and intervals of these introduce "chop seas," in every conceivable shape and position, covering the tidal waves, and you have an outline view of Block Island from Beacon Hill, in the clear light of an autumn day.

When the island was discovered it was well wooded with oak, hickory, elm, ash, cedar, juniper and pine, and the underbrush and berry-bearing shrubbery of the mainland. The timber was cut for house and boat building and the wood was used for fuel to such an extent that the island could not sustain the smaller tree growth that was so terribly windlashed that it is now almost treeless. Time and training may again restore shade and forest trees over the island.

Fortunately, for the protection of the agricultural interests of the people, the land was full of great quantities of stone for walls, and it is estimated that there are at least three hundred miles of stone fences on the island. Many large granite boulders are scattered over the land in evidence of a foreign origin. The following is a classified list of natural and historic features of Block Island:

HILLS—Beacon (300 feet high), Sandy, Enos, Beach Plum, Bush Lot, Harbor, Pilot, Plover, Hancock, Gunners, Phyllises, Cherry, Titus.

PONDS—Great Salt, Sachem, Middle, Trims, Harbor, Sands, Fresh, Mitchell's, Long, Reed, Catch, Muddy, Ball's, Mill, Quicksand.

SPRINGS—Allens, Boiling, Dick.

BROOKS—Stephens, Coonimus, Mill.

SWAMPS—Great, Whale, Continental, Kents, Sisson, Sandy Hill, Coonimus, Wixet, Spring, Cranberry Bog, Titus, Common Point, Burnt, Dickens.

LIGHT HOUSES AND BUOYS—Sandy Point, Breakwater, Southeast Light and Fog Horn, Sandy Point Whistling Buoy, Southwest Ledge Bell Buoy.

PLACES OF SPECIAL HISTORIC INTEREST—Cow Cove and Boulder Monument to First Settlers, Palatine Graves, Pocock Meadow, Black Rock Gully, the Old Pier, Fort Island, Indian Head Neck, Indian Burial Ground, Mohegan Bluffs, the old Harbor, the Breakwater, Great Salt Pond Harbor and Pier.

Block Island is a part of the great glacial product of our Southern New England coast and is easily identified as related to Long Island on the west and the Elizabeth Islands, Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket on the east.

Geologists tell us that the coast line of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut extended, after the diluvial deposits of the ice age, from fifteen to thirty and possibly forty miles into the ocean, and that the ceaseless action of the ocean, in the long ages subsequent to that deposit, has worn away the land area, converting it into navigable salt seas and islands. We may safely assume that the islands above named were part of the mainland at the close of the glacial epoch and that their present position and form are due to ocean action. In proof of this, it is only necessary to state that the strata, material and contour of Block Island are similar to Long Island at Montauk and in many features are like South Kingstown and Hopkinton on the mainland. At the time that Block Island was attached to the mainland on the north, Long Island Sound, if it existed at all, may have been a small glacial lake or the head of a stream, flowing westward through the East river, at New York.

In the year 1840, Charles T. Jackson, M. D., an eminent New England geologist, published a report on the geological and agricultural survey of the State of Rhode Island, ordered by the General Assembly. A portion of the report as to New Shoreham (Block Island) is as follows:

Block Island presents an irregular rolling surface of hills and valleys of gentle undulation, the hills rarely attaining more than 150 feet above the sea level, while the valleys are rounded basins, frequently filled with excellent peat.

The authentic history of Block Island opens with a double tragedy. The year is 1636, the same year that Roger Williams and his little band pitched their tents on the banks of the Moshassuck, and called the place Providence. The story goes that one John Oldham, of Boston, a very successful Indian trader, who had won the confidence of the Narragansetts and Pequots, on the mainland, in exchanging English goods for New Eng-

land furs, endeavored to extend his trade among the Manisses, the owners and occupants of this island. Making a landing, Oldham exposed his wares and attractive trinkets to the curious and avaricious eyes of Manissean men and women. They saw, they desired and then planned an easy way to enrich themselves at little financial cost. Seized suddenly with a get-rich-quick scheme of a more barbarous age in manners, if not in morals, the islanders tomahawked Oldham and his business companions and divided the treasures of the white face, obtained without money or price, among the red-faced Manisseans. But a greater tragedy was in store. The news of the death of Oldham and his company came to the ears and stirred the spirits of Master Harry Vane, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony. His subjects had been murdered by traitorous savages and to avenge the deed the worthy General Court sent forth an hundred well-armed soldiers, wearing helmets, thick, stiff collars and breast plates, under command of Captain John Endicott, afterwards the stern, uncompromising Governor of the Colony, and Captain John Underhill, who became the most celebrated Indian fighter of his day. A fleet of boats brought Colonel Endicott's army to the harbor of Manissees, where they were met by the hostile braves, armed with bows and arrows, to dispute their landing. Once on the beach, the old bell muzzles carried bullets beyond the Indian arrows, and many a red man hit the dust with a leaden ball in his head or heart. The harbor surf made a rough landing for the troops, while fifty warriors on the shore let fly their stone-pointed arrows with dangerous precision. Wrote Captain Underhill: "They drew near to the water's side, and let fly at the soldiers, as though they had meant to make an end of us in a moment. They shot a young gentleman in the neck, through a collar, for stiffness as if it had been an oaken board, and entered his flesh a good depth. Myself received an arrow through my coat sleeve, a second against my helmet on the forehead; so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me I had been slain. *Let no man,*" he adds, "*DESPISE ADVICE AND counsel of his wife, though she be a woman.*"

Once the Boston army was on the beach, the Indians fled, pursued by the Boston troops. "Slay, burn, destroy," was the order of the day. The slaughter of Indians, the destruction of wigwams, the burning of the stores of corn, of which there was plenty for winter's supplies, satisfied in part the deadly wrath of the whites on that autumn day in 1636—and marked the first battle on Rhode Island territory between the English and the Indians.

The battle of Colonel Endicott was the beginning of the end of the Manisses Indians. Their full conquest came on a second attack by Colonel Israel Stoughton, after which the Pine Tree flag of the Bay floated over Block Island as captured territory and Miantonomi, chief of the Narragansetts, acknowledged the justice of the claim.

The Manisses were a brave, an industrious and a well-to-do people. The rich lands of the island yielded excellent harvests of corn, wampum was manufactured for the mainland, their bows and arrows, baskets and mats showed art, skill and prowess, while their ability to protect their island from their Indian enemies is complete evidence of their superiority to their kinsman of the main. They were the navigators of the Southern New England coast, and had not the Indian leader, Audsah, struck the fatal blow at Oldham, the tribal history of a naturally noble people would have had another ending. As it was, the survivors of these conflicts with the whites were made slaves and bondmen to the early settlers, who, in 1661, purchased the island and its belongings and made it their future peaceful and happy home.

Twenty-five years pass. The persons and estates of the Manisses have passed into the hands of the Bay Colony; thence to Governor Endicott and associates, Richard Bellingham, Daniel Dennison and William Hawthorne, and from these owners, in fee, to a company of sixteen men, most of whom became the owners and first permanent white settlers of the island. In the sale of the island to Endicott, the Bay Colony made a great territorial and financial blunder, for this formidable bit of land commanded the shores of Rhode Island and Connecticut and would undoubtedly have proved the key to the possession of both, or of Rhode Island, with certainty.

The fortunate purchasers of Block Island were mainly from Braintree, Massachusetts. The names of the first twelve proprietors were: Dr. John Alcock, of Roxbury; Thomas Faxon, Peter George, Thomas Terry, Richard Ellis, Samuel Deering, Simon Ray, of Braintree, and Felix Wharton, Hew Williams, John Glaffer, Edward Vose and John Rathbone. The price paid was £400—\$2,000.

The first meeting of the Company was held at Dr. Alcock's office, Roxbury, Massachusetts, August 17, 1660. It was agreed to purchase and settle the Island, and a barque and shallop were to be built to transport passengers, freight and live stock. By the close of the year 1660, the vessels had been built at Braintree with William Rose as captain of the bark, and William Edwards and Samuel Staples to sail the shallop around Cape Cod, meet the passengers at Taunton and transport them to the Island. Captain Rose, master of the bark, sailed from Braintree, early in the month of April, 1661, with the goods and chattels of the settlers, and landed his cargo probably in Cow Cove, where the common cow of the company set an example of the first swimming feat to the first company of later Island amphibians. APRIL, 1661, may be regarded as the date of the white settlement of Block Island and its occupation by representatives of the sixteen purchasers of the Island. The survey of the land was made

by Mr. Peter Noyes, of Sudbury, "an able proved surveyor," directed by Mr. Thomas Faxon, "an able knowing man," and one of the Braintree proprietors. At the house of Felix Wharton at Boston, on the first Tuesday in September, 1661, the plat of the Island was presented by Mr. Faxon. The north part of the Island was divided into seventeen parts or lots, and the west and southeast portions into sixteen other lots of equal value. Sixteen lots in each of two divisions were selected by lot by the sixteen proprietors and a seventeenth lot at the north end was set apart as "Ministers' Land."

These hardy men found their new home lands heavily wooded with oak, walnut, elm, ash, cedar and pine. The soil was fertile, though rocky, and the lowlands abounded in peat for fuel. The Island, as to-day, was diversified with a curious mixture of hills and valleys, much resembling a chop sea in a heavy northeast storm. Huge boulders, transported by the ice carriers of the glacial age, marked every acre of upland, and the hundreds of miles of stone walls bear witness to the hardness of the soil conditions for cultivation and the hardihood of the men who subdued the savage conditions of the Island. Indian corn was the natural product of the soil, while rye, barley, oats, potatoes, garden vegetables and luxuries, fed by the sea foods of vegetables and fish, have provided an abundance of the best table supplies, while the sea with its wealth of fish of many and rich varieties have made a people of sound health, of great physical and mental strength and with a remarkable record for long life.

Just here one is led to ask in Mrs. Hemans' line,

"What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas?
The spoils of war?"

These hard-headed men are freemen of the Bay Colony,—citizens of Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Braintree, now Quincy. What could tempt men of sense and substance to leave the Hub for the broken end of a spoke? The culture and refinement of the metropolis for the savage wilderness island, clad in fogs and clouds and northeasters? The Puritan orthodoxy of the Mathers for the exhortations of pious Simon Ray? The society of the Endicotts, the Higginsons, the Winthrops and the Adamses for the solitariness of the Salt Pond, Beacon Hill and the South Shore?

The settlement of this island, leagues from the main, *was no accident*. It was the deliberate plan of *strong men* and presumably of an equal number of *strong women*. Their lot, on arrival on a new continent, had placed them on the best possessions of Massachusetts Bay Colony. They had purchased lands and built homes. In the middle of active life in

and around Boston, a new project is presented to the settlers of the Bay,—the purchase and occupation of Block Island,—not a land speculation to involve others, but an investment of estates, persons and future hopes of families and posterity.

A careful study of men and motives leads to the conclusion that only men and women of superior qualities could or would engage in such a movement, involving as it did isolation, privations, and toils, inseparable from the migration. A true measure of standards gives to the sturdy settlers of 1661, the quality of self-conscious confidence in their own abilities, a natural, normal independence, a singular personal faith; more than that, a communal faith, binding families in one fellowship, in co-operative friendship, in federated protection. Such social units are the basis of towns and commonwealths. The pledge of mutual helpfulness is involved in the compact. The closer ties of socialism are positive gains over the losses of wider and separated interests. The narrowing of the sphere of individual and social influence intensifies and deepens its exercise. The dissipation of force, physical, mental, spiritual, is lessened in the compact and unity of family, social and political life. Solidity and solidarity ensue, while individualism is not sacrificed,—the greatest personal asset, vigorous health and rural sea life, make for temperance, good morals, intelligent thinking and virtuous living. Profligacy and race degeneracy are the products of congested populations and excessive wealth far removed from island life.

The history of individuals and families, whose lives have been spent on Block Island, fully confirms all that I have predicated as probable and reasonable as to the settlers and later inhabitants. This Island has produced and nurtured a long catalogue of men and women of whom any town or commonwealth might boast. Some have remained to conduct affairs at home while many, on land or sea, have brought honor to their families and to the community of their birth.

Among the men who set the standards of character and citizenship here, it is well worth our while to name a few of the founders,—types of their associates.

Captain James Sands came from an old English family, prominent in the politics of England during the reign of Henry VII, and VIII. His grandparents, it is said, reached the remarkable ages of 140 and 120 years. James and wife landed at Plymouth in 1658, and three years later were land owners and settlers on this Island. In 1664, the General Assembly of Rhode Island notified the inhabitants of Block Island, that by the charter of Charles II, of 1663, they were under the care of the Rhode Island government and James Sands was made constable of the Island, the first civil officer by appointment of the Colony. In 1665, Sands and

Thomas Terry sat in the General Court of Commissioners of Rhode Island. In 1672, Mr. Sands was the leader in the movement for the incorporation of the island as a Rhode Island town under the name of "New Shoreham, otherwise Block Island." Mr. Sands built the first stone garrison house on the Island, to which the people fled for protection against the attacks of the French and Indians; was a generous friend of the needy, made his garrison house the meeting house of the people for Sabbath worship, and in every way showed an interest in the welfare of the people. The historian Livermore calls Capt. James Sands "one of the noblest characters of New England." His family and descendants have occupied positions of trust and honor, both civil and military in State and nation. His son, Capt. John, is described by the historian Niles "as a gentleman of great part and superior powers." Two sons settled on Long Island and gave the name to Sands Point.

A grandson, Edward Sands, represented Block Island in the General Assembly from 1740 to 1760.

Edward Sands, Jr., born 1748, was a distinguished patriot of the Revolution. Col. Ray Sands, of the Revolutionary period served his country throughout the Revolutionary War, removing to South Kingstown, where he occupied many offices, and represented both towns in the General Assembly.

John Sands, called by Mr. Livermore, "the great man of the Island during the Revolution," was captain of the military company, and was the author of that extraordinary paper adopted by the Islanders, in which the citizens assumed rights transcending the charters of England and the Colony of Rhode Island, virtually erecting the Island into an independent democracy, in 1779. The public spirit, patriotism, wealth and high character of the Sands family places it among the leaders of Rhode Island society.

Simon Ray was another of the remarkable men of the founders group. At the age of twenty-five, he joined the associates in the purchase of the island, and with Mr. Samuel Deering of Braintree built the shallop, at their own cost, in which the first settlers sailed from Taunton to the Island. He spent seventy-seven years in generous services for the people, devoting his ample fortune, time and talents to their welfare. In the absence of a minister, Mr. Ray opened his house for religious services and often conducted the exercises. The monument over his grave evidences his benevolence, his Christian character, "his life being in this a living instance as in all others of a lovely example of Christian virtue." On account of Mr. Ray's blindness, the town meetings were held at his house, and such was the veneration of the people that he was elected as chief warden for about half a century, and for thirty years he was the

representative of the town in the General Assembly. Mr. Ray died at the venerable age of 102 years.

His son, Simon, Jr., succeeded his father in local offices and in excellence of character, dying at the age of 86. He was a fine scion of the good Ray stock. The flower of the Ray family appears in the third generation in the four daughters of Simon Ray, Jr.,—Judith, born October 4, 1726, Anna, born September 27, 1828, Catharine, born July 10, 1731, and Phebe, born September 10, 1733. These four girls were Island children, their mother being an Islander of the second generation. As they grew to womanhood, they illustrated the highest graces of form and feature, and were all distinguished for their physical beauty. Added to these personal attractions were intellectual strength and brilliancy. When Benjamin Franklin was a young printer at Newport, he received an article for his press written by Miss Catharine Ray, and so much was he impressed with the unrecognized talent of the young authoress, that he at once made her acquaintance, wrote pleasant words to and about her, and his admiration mingled with love might have made Catharine the wife of the great philosopher, had he not then possessed a wife of an earlier choice. One of the gifts that passed between them was a cheese from her father's farm on the Island, in acknowledgment of which, Franklin wrote, "We talk of you every time it (the cheese) comes to the table. She (Mrs. F.) is sure you are a sensible girl and a notable housekeeper, and talks of bequeathing me to you as a legacy. * * * And since she is willing I should love you as much as you are willing to be loved by me, let us join in wishing the old lady (Mrs. F.) a long life and a happy." Mr. John Bigelow, one of Franklin's biographers, writes: "Franklin had a remarkable affinity for superior people," and "it is pleasant to follow the growth and loyalty of his friendship for Miss Ray."

The four beautiful and brilliant sisters were destined to figure among the highest and noblest of the land.

Judith became the wife of Hon. Thomas Hubbard, of Boston, a man of wealth and of family distinction, and treasurer of Harvard College. Through her marriage she became a prominent member of the best society of Boston and Cambridge.

Anna was the desire of many suiters, but gave her heart and hand to Samuel Ward, Governor of Rhode Island and a distinguished patriot in the struggle for Colonial freedom.

Catharine, Franklin's favorite, married Governor William Greene, of Rhode Island, of the distinguished Greene family of Warwick. The old mansion in which Gov. Greene and wife received Washington and Lafayette and other notables of the time is still standing in the Greene

name, and near it are the well visited graves of William and Catharine Ray Greene, and several of their children.

Phebe married William Littlefield, of Block Island, a very reputable and honored citizen. Her daughter Catharine, named for her aunt, (Mrs. Greene) was left an orphan, very young and was adopted by her, and while a member of her uncle's family was courted by the brilliant General Nathanael Greene, and later became his wife. The historian, George Washington Greene, writes of her:

The courtship sped swiftly and smoothly, and more than once, in the course of it, Greene followed Catharine to Block Island, where the time passed gleefully in merry makings, of which dancing formed a principal part. She was an intimate acquaintance of Martha Washington, as well as of the General, meeting her many times at army headquarters whenever the army rested long enough to permit the officers' wives to join them. An intimacy sprang up between her and Mrs. Washington, which, like that between their husbands, ripened into friendship and continued while both lived. Her first child was named George Washington Greene, and the second Martha Washington.

Many daughters of American families have done virtuously and made their lives distinguished for purity, ability and patriotism, but it is doubtful whether another example can be found that will equal the records of the four sisters, granddaughters of Simon Ray, of noteworthy memory. No greater honor attaches to this Island than the fact that four of her daughters of one family "to the manner born," were the intimate and closely associated friends of Franklin, Washington, the Greenes, the Wards, and their families, and others of distinction in all parts of our land. Surely these were among the excellent of the land.

Thomas Terry was the hero of Indian warfare and the bravest of the defenders of the Island against French and Indian enemies. John Rathbone, one of the wealthiest of the founders, was the ancestor of a long and influential family, which has made an honorable record on the Island and in other parts of the State. Rev. Samuel Niles was born of the Sands and Niles stock, in 1674, his grandfather James Sands having been the first physician on the Island and one of the first emancipationists in America. Mr. Niles was the first student that entered and graduated at Harvard College from Rhode Island. Leaving college in 1699, Mr. Niles became a settled minister on the Island in 1700, receiving a settlement gift of seven acres of land on Fresh Pond; was settled at Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1711, and in 1760 wrote a history of the French and Indian War, in which he incorporated much of interest relative to the strenuous and perilous experiences of the Islanders during that long and momentous struggle on the American continent. President

John Adams wrote, "I revered and still revere the honest, virtuous and pious man, Rev. Samuel Niles."

Brief reference should be made to Hon. W. G. Angell, born on the Island,—a representative in Congress from the State of New York; of the Briggs family which produced Nathaniel, Capt. Jeremiah and others of eminence on sea and land; of the Dickens family; the Dodges, of whom Aunt Betsey was a noted example; of the Hulls, born for the sea; of the Littlefields, numerous, public spirited, influential; the Lewises, late comers, but among the honorable of the town; the Mitchells, enterprising, virtuous, honored; the Motts, true and faithful; the Paines, from Capt. Thomas, who fought the first naval battle with the French, within Block Island waters; of the Roses, perpetual bloomers since the planting of Tormut Rose in 1661, one of the family, Hon. Anderson C. Rose, becoming a Lieutenant-Governor of his native State; of the Sheffields, in whose family we find Hon. John G., one of the most enterprising and honored citizens of the Island; Hon. William Paine, the eminent lawyer and statesman; of the Champlins, who have made an excellent family record and have in the President of the Day, Hon. Christopher Champlin, a typical and an honored representative who has won his honors by worth and hard fighting; the Ball family, from Edward Ball, deputy warden, 1702, has been one of the most useful and valuable of the older residents. Hon. Peter Ball, a member of the General Assembly, obtained an appropriation of £1200 from the Colony for building a new pier. Hon. Nicholas Ball, a descendant inherited the enterprise and honorable character of his ancestors. From a cook's mate at \$6 a month, he rose by a natural ambition to a position of honor, influence and wealth in State and Nation. His name will always be associated with the Government Harbor, of the Island, and the making of Block Island a great summer resort. The historian Livermore accords to Nicholas Ball good judgment, indomitable perseverance, a magnetic and controlling influence and unchallenged success. It is safe to say that his name will be long held in honor by the people of Block Island, the citizens of the State, and a large circle the world over.

This ocean island has been the storm centre of many a terrific gale, and its shores and headlands the occasion and the scene of the wreck of many a costly ship, with the added contribution to the Storm King of valuable lives and cargoes. Every such loss of life and property constitutes a tragedy and invests the Island with an unwritten history that only the poet and the painter can portray, but the weird and ghoulish story of *The Palatine* outrivals all in the conditions and motives that are supposed to have inspired the event, and in the singular phenomena, the *Palatine Light*, which, like an accusing conscience appears off the coast,

to remind the people of an unrepentant crime. The tradition goes that in 1755, the year of the Lisbon earthquake, and also that of the singular and utter self-annihilation of "The Deacon's One Hoss Shay," in the height of an equinoctial storm, 'midst the roar of the ocean on the South Shore, the wild shrieks of the sea birds, and the wailing of the gale, the shots of a signal gun were heard above the voices of the tempest, as of a merchant-man driven before the gale to meet a sure destruction on a terrific lee-shore.

False lights hung on piratical poles, lured the ship with her valuable cargo, and what for a moment seemed a beacon of hope to the terror-stricken passengers and crew, told the doom of the ill-fated *Palatine*, while the islanders, like wild vultures, swooped down on the wreck, enriching their homes with the ill-gotten wealth of the freighted ship, while the ghastly corpses of the dead were the silent witnesses to the deeds of plunder, of shame and of barbarism. Whittier tells the story of "The *Palatine*," as follows:

The ship that a hundred years before,
Freighted deep with its goodly store,
In the gales of the Equinox went ashore.

The eager Islanders, one by one
Counted the shots of her signal gun,
And heard the crash as she drove right on.

Into the teeth of death she sped;
(May God forgive the hands that fed
The false lights over the Rocky Head!)

O, men and brothers, what sights were there!
White upturned faces, hands stretched in prayer!
Where waves had pity, could ye not spare?

Down swooped the wreckers like birds of prey,
Tearing the heart of the ship away,
And the dead had never a word to say.

And there with a ghastly glimmer and shine,
Over the rocks and the seething brine,
They burned the wreck of the *Palatine*.

In their cruel hearts, as they homeward sped,
"The sea and the rocks are dumb," they said,
"There be no reckoning with the dead."

And now Nemesis with her avenging Furies appears to remind the guilty Islanders of their awful crime by "The *Palatine Light*," a blaze of fire rising from the ocean near the northern point of the Island, in varied forms and luster, appearing and disappearing, often so luminous as to lighten the walls of a room, with a singular blaze a half mile from the shore. Many believe it to be a ship on fire, and their vivid imaginings fit it with masts and cordage and bellying sails. Men now living have seen this

wonderful vision and declare the burning ship to be as real as was the Palatine conflagration of a century and a half ago.

"For still," sings the poet, "on many a moonless night,
From Kingston Head and Montauk Light,
The specter kindles and burns in sight.

And the wise Sound skippers, though skies be fine,
Reef their sails when they see the sign
Of the blazing wreck of *The Palatine*."

This is the imagery which tradition and poetry have thrown over a sadly common event to men and women of storm beaten islands, to wit: the wreckage of valuable ships, cargoes, crews and passengers in dense fogs and heavy gales. There is little doubt but that a Dutch ship, possibly the Palatine, did land, or was found a burning wreck, cast ashore during a storm, on the Island; that the oldest inhabitant remembers that a woman named "Dutch Kattern" or "Katharine," came on shore from a ship, called "The Palatine;" that she married a negro slave, and made her living by fortune telling; and that all the strange stories of the Palatine originated with her. Certain it is that no such event as Whittier describes could have taken place on Block Island, whose inhabitants have been noted for humanity, generosity and self-sacrifice towards all the unfortunates who have been wrecked on their shores. If alive they have been cared for as brother men; if dead they have had Christian burial. The Island officers from pious Simon Ray to the present day have thrown about the storm tossed sons of the sea their arms of deliverance and protection, risking their own lives to save those whom Providence had brought within their power to rescue. It is doubtful if the pages of American history can show more splendid examples of personal courage, self-sacrifice and heroism, than have been illustrated in the stormy seas and along the shores of this sea-girt isle, by the hardy native seamen of Block Island. Let the signal of distress appear in the offing, and a score of fearless men launch out upon the deep, each vying with the other in the braving and breasting of peril, to save a single life, or to protect and guide to safe harbors, vessels and crews, threatened with destruction.

Two and one-half centuries ago Block Island was covered with forests and occupied by Narragansett Indians, with several hundred warriors. The seas gave them their fish and the soil their corn and beans. They lived their savage life. Then came a band of hardy men and women with their children and made this Island their permanent home. Honor and honesty ruled the purchase. Access to the main and to their old friends was not easy; visits to Newport, Providence, Boston and New York were not frequent. Isolated, they became self reliant and self protective. For a century they were harassed by Indians and French foes

and with their own strong right arms they won the victory,—often as much by wisdom and strategy as by force and arms. Mariners from necessity, they became masters of their calling and the seas were their home. Merchants trusted Block Island captains with rich cargoes, to and from all known ports of trade, over all seas. The Grand Banks as well as all Atlantic fish-bearing waters were the constant and successful resorts of Island fishermen. Their boats returned, loaded to the water's edge. The New England coast was their route of travel and a Block Island pilot on board a foreign ship was a sure passport to safe anchorage.

Men were made brave in storm and tempest, women found courage in home-keeping, with husbands and sons facing sea perils. Children were born on the ocean wave. They must swim or drown, and swim they must. Many a Block Island boy has started out on an island dory at ten, and at eighteen found himself in command of a full rigged ship. Eight years from forecastle to the quarter deck was a greater acquisition than a college diploma. The roll of honor of Block Island-born men in merchant and naval service would surpass that of any community of its size on the Continent. Prior to the Revolution our privateer service was largely manned by Block Island boys, and when the American navy was fitted out the same boys were ready for most efficient work. The singular situation of Block Island, unparalleled in the history of any other American town, during the Revolution compelled her to a position of self-defence, but through all that trying period, exposed as she was to the perils from British ships, and neglected by the Colony, the Islanders bore a loyal spirit, a most honorable part in assisting the Colony of which she was an integral part, although she had been left to take care of herself. Block Island has never been recognized or honored as she richly deserved for her attitude during that long struggle. Her later history, in harmony with the earlier, discloses a people devoting themselves with equal constancy and industry to the land as well as to the sea. From the first the Islanders have been well-to-do people—in a true sense a wealthy people. Comfortable homes, well filled tables, suitable dress, little or no poverty or crime here marked the community as prosperous and happy. Long life, large Puritan families, social order, a fair education and a thorough-going regard for moral and religious living have characterized the people from 1661 to 1919.

New Shoreham, the town name of Block Island, is now one of the most noted summer resorts in our Eastern Coast. Large and well conducted hotels, in great numbers stand in friendly neighborhood on eastern hill and harbor slopes of the Island, while private villas are located on the sea-commanding bluffs.

The population of the Island in 1708 was 208; in 1810 it was 722; in 1860, 1320; and in 1915 was 1414. The valuation of the real and personal estates was \$1,071,350.

The local history of Block Island truthfully written, would present an interesting study. The traditionary history of the aborigines is full of the romance of war. Their authentic history in connection with the whites abounds in stirring incidents; the peculiarities of the English settlers and their posterity, their customs, laws and domestic institutions, are among the most singular and interesting developments of civilized life; while the material deeds of a people, within and around whose island home there has been more hard fighting than on any territory of equal extension perhaps in America, and where the horrors of savage and civilized warfare have alternately prevailed, almost without cessation from the earliest traditionary period down to a recent date, would altogether, furnish materials for a thrilling history that might rival the pages of romance.—SAMUEL GREENE ARNOLD, 1858.



CHAPTER XXIX

THE QUAKERS IN RHODE ISLAND

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On the third of August, 1657, a small ship—*The Woodhouse*—entered Newport harbor, bringing six Quaker passengers. She was the first vessel built by Quakers, manned by Quakers for the sole benefit of Quaker passengers that came to New England, and may be truly styled the Quaker *Mayflower*. She brought the original "Apostles" of Quakerism to our shores from old England, and in doing it made the Colony of Rhode Island on Aquidneck the pioneer settlement of the disciples of George Fox.

The occasion of this historic event as related to the Aquidneck Colony is of special interest, in its illustration of the attitude of the Bay Colony towards Quakers as well as the liberal policy of the Rhode Island Colony on Aquidneck in its full freedom as to spiritual concerns. Special emphasis is laid upon the fact of the Quaker landing on Aquidneck in the Rhode Island Colony. Mr. Williams strenuously opposed the Quakers and would not have welcomed them to Providence Plantations, his settlement at the north end of the Bay. His action on the Quakers will be related later. The first Quakers to land on American soil were two women,—Mary Fisher and Ann Austin,—who, coming from England by way of Barbados, landed in the town of Boston, July 11, 1656, to the great consternation of the Puritan town. George Bishop told the General Court in 1660, "Two poor women arriving in your harbor, so shook ye, to the everlasting shame of you, and of your established peace and order, as if a formidable army had invaded your borders." Mary Fisher was then about twenty-two years old, unmarried, possessed of uncommon "intellectual faculties" and of "gravity of deportment." Ann Austin was the mother of five children. Both had been disciples of George Fox and preachers of Quaker beliefs since 1652. On their arrival in the ship *Swallow*, Governor Endicott, the arch persecutor of "heretics" was not in town and Deputy Governor Richard Bellingham, equal to the occasion, ordered the women to be kept on the ship while search was made for books containing "corrupt heretical and blasphemous doctrines." One hundred such books were found, seized and burned in the market place by the town hangman. Thus did literary Boston treat the first shipment of Quaker literature that came into its harbor. The two women, owners of the books, were brought to land, put in jail, "stripped stark naked" and searched for "tokens" of witchcraft on their bodies. A fine of five pounds was laid upon anyone who should speak with them. One Nicholas Upsall,

of Dorchester, Massachusetts, offered to pay the fine and later was fined twenty pounds for speaking against the law and of reproaching the magistrates in their treatment of the Quakers. After an imprisonment of five weeks, the master of the *Swallow* was obliged to return the two women to Barbados, at his own expense, and the Boston jailer had to content himself with the bedding and Bibles for his fees.

In October, 1656, the General Court of the Bay enacted the most notable law ever written on its statutes. The preamble is a terrific indictment of the Quakers:

WHEREAS, There is a cursed set of heretics lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediatlie sent of God, & infallibly assisted by the Spiritt of God to speake & write blasphemous opinions, despising government & the order of God in the churches & Commonwealth, speaking evill of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates & ministers, seekinge to turne the people from the fayth, & gaine proselites to their pernicious wayes.

It was ordered that a fine of one hundred pounds should be exacted of any shipmaster bringing a Quaker or Quakers into any port in the Colony, and if brought in to carry them back to the place whence they came. Any Quaker entering the Colony should be put in the house of correction, publicly whipped, kept at hard work, and not allowed to speak to any one before banishment. Any person adopting the heretical doctrines of the Quakers was a subject for banishment. Thus did the Bay Colony close its doors to the admission of the Quakers. But, fortunately a wide door was opened in Southern New England through which the disciples of George Fox could enter and from the vantage ground of a central station penetrate the several adjacent Colonies.

The story of the *Woodhouse* is finely told by Rufus M. Jones in "The Quakers in the American Colonies." Eleven Quakers came as passengers on the little ship, "men counted naught." As they were the founders of the Quaker faith in America their names should be held in remembrance. They were Christopher Holder, John Copeland, William Brend, William Robinson, Humphrey Norton, Mary Clark, Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead and Dorothy Waugh. The last five named persons landed at New Amsterdam (New York). The first six landed at Newport for mission work in the Bay Colony. The log of the *Woodhouse* records that "the Lord led their ship as a man leads a horse by the head," and "He steered their vessel as He did Noah's Ark to the hill Ararat."

Aquidneck was a fortunate landing place for people of the Quaker faith. Ann Hutchinson, a pre-Quakeress, had taught that the human soul was illumined by a divine light; that the soul of man and the heart of

God were in close fellowship and spiritual communion; that "the wisdom of the infinite God is within reach of the feeblest human spirit; the will of the Eternal is voiced in the soul of every man; it is life to hear and obey; it is death to follow other voices." "*By the voice of His own spirit in my soul,*" were the inspired words of Mrs. Hutchinson, which won for her the honor of banishment from the Bay and the greater honor of being one of the founders of the Colony of spiritual freemen on Aquidneck, in 1638. Death had closed her mortal career and she had taken her place with the immortals,—the seers of a new life,—otherwise she would have stood on the new Rock of Freedom at Newport to have welcomed the little Quaker band,—the Apostles of a New Faith. But Judge and later Governor William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall, and Walter Clarke, son of Gov. Jeremiah Clarke did extend the warm hand to Holden and his companions, accepted the Quaker doctrine as soon as they heard it and at once became pillars in the first Quaker meeting in America. Worthy and lasting honors belong to the Pilgrim founders at Plymouth for laying strong and deep the foundations of the democratic American state, but look around you, and state if you can where the spirit of soul freedom and the spirit of democracy ever met in more perfect union, than at Newport in the Colony of Rhode Island, August 3, 1657.

Rev. John Callender in his Century Sermon, 1736, says: "In 1657, some of the people called Quakers, came to this Colony and Island; and being persecuted and abused in other Colonies, that, together with the opinions and circumstances here, gave them a large harvest. Many, and some of the Baptists (of whom Mr. Callender was minister) embraced their doctrines and particular opinions, to which many of the posterity and others still adhere." Peterson writes: "Many of the principal inhabitants embraced their doctrines, (Quaker), among whom were William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, Philip Sherman, Adam Mott and many others." Mary Dyer, of Newport, wife of William Dyer, had just returned from England, where she had become a convert to the Quaker faith and a minister to teach it. In 1661, four years after the landing at Newport, an Annual Meeting was held on Aquidneck Island, to which the Friends, scattered throughout New England, gathered and "The Yearly Meeting of Friends in New England" has had a continuous history to the present day.

The Yearly Meeting of Quakers was established for its influence in the formation of "group consciousness and of social ideals." At first it was a large General Meeting for worship and preaching and for an impressive massing of the Quaker members. The first in America, held in 1661, was called at the suggestion of an English Quaker, named George Rofe, who was at that time on a mission to America. He says of it: "We came in at

Rhode Island and we appointed a General Meeting for all Friends in those parts, which was a very great meeting and very precious, continuing four days." The meeting at Newport was so large that the Boston officials made an alarm that the Quakers were gathering to kill the people and fire the town of Boston. From Piscataqua on the east to Long Island on the west the Quakers gathered for the annual meeting and it soon gradually united in one at Newport all the others in New England.

The warm welcome given the Quaker missionaries by the Aquidneck settlers and the establishment at Newport of headquarters in New England alarmed the Bay Colony. The Colony of Rhode Island had been refused admission to the union of the New England Colonies, but now, in danger of an invasion of a dangerous, heretical sect, they united in a letter to Governor Benedict Arnold of Newport, under date of September 12, 1657. The letter, written by Gov. Simon Bradstreet of Boston, relates that the Commissioners of the Colonies have been "informed that divers Quakers are arrived this summer at Rhode Island and entertained there, which may prove dangerous to the Colonies." He also relates: "We suppose you have understood that the last yeare a companie of Quakers arrived at Boston upon noe other account than to disperse their pernicious opinions had they not been prevented by the prudent care of that Government, whose by that experience they had of them, being sensible of the danger that might befall the Christian religion here professed by suffering such to be received or continued in the country." After further discussion of the character of the accursed sect of ranters and "their accursed tenets," the urgent request is made that "you remove those Quakers that have been received, and for the future prohibit their coming amongst you."

President Arnold replies a month later, for the Court of Trials, then in session at Providence. He wrote: "There hath come to our view * * a request concerning certayne people called Quakers, come amongst us lately. Our desires are, in all things possible, to pursue after and keepe fayre and loveing correspondence and intercourse with all the Collonys, and with all our countreymen in New England. * * * And to have made seasonable provision to preserve a just and equal intercourse between the Coloneys and us, by giving justice to any that demand it among us, and by returning such as make escape from you or from the other Colonys, being such as fly from the hands of Justice, for matters of crime done or committed amongst you, &c. And as concerning these Quakers (so called), which are now among us, we have no law among us, whereby to punish any for only declaring by words, &c. their mindes and understandings concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition. * * * Surely we find that they delight

to be persecuted by civill powers, and when they are so, they are like to gain more adherents by the conseyte of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings. And yet we conceive, that theire doctrines tend to very absolute cutting downe and overturninge relations and civill government among men if generally received. But as to the dammage that may in likelihood accrue to the neighbour Colloneys by theire being here entertained, we conceive it will not prove so dangerous in regard of the course taken by you to send them away out of the countrey, as they come among you."

This letter was signed by Benedict Arnold and William Baulston of Newport, Randall Holden of Warwick and Arthur Fenner and William Field of Providence, and is an admirable illustration of courteous diplomacy, somewhat infrequent in those trying days of Colonial history, and sets forth in a wondrously clear light the Rhode Island principle of soul liberty *vs.* "a distressed conscience," and the philosophic and statesman-like attitude of the men who stood at the head of civil affairs in the Rhode Island Colony.

In March, 1658, five months later, the General Assembly of the Colony, in session at Portsmouth, sent a reply to the Commissioners concerning the Quakers. In it the members state that "freedom of different consciences, to be protected from inforcements was the principal ground of our Charter * * * which freedom we still prize as the greatest hapines that men can posess in this world." They say that Quakers are suffered to live in England, "yea in the very heart of the nation (London)," and they see no reason why they may not be allowed to live in a Colony of England if they obey the English and Colonial laws. In case of refusal, the General Assembly will take the matter unto the supreme authority of England for advice and direction. They take this course that there may be "noe damadge or infringement of that chiefe principle in our charter concerninge freedom of consciences and we alsoe are soe much the more incouraged to make our addresses unto the Lord Protector (Cromwell), his highness and protector." Here we see illustrated the devotion of the law making body of the Colony to the principles of the founders, their loyalty to the English Commonwealth and the most conservative and surest method of dealing with troublesome Colonial affairs, quite in contrast with the persecuting and tyrannical spirit and action of the Plymouth and Bay Colonies. In this connection it may be stated that the Quakers were not made welcome in any of the New England Colonies except in Rhode Island, at Newport and Portsmouth. It is well known that Mr. Williams opposed the Quaker doctrines with his usual vehement zeal and would probably have used his influence in preventing their coming to Providence, at least on the same grounds as the

refusal of citizenship to Samuel Gorton. While Plymouth Colony had no religious tests for citizenship, it must be said that the conservative element, led by Governor Prince, constantly opposed a liberal policy in Colonial affairs and passed stringent laws with reference to Quakers. The anti-Quaker code included apprehension, whipping, putting in stocks or cages, disfranchisement, imprisonment, the destruction of books, seizing of horses, penalties for attending Quaker meetings, detention in houses of correction and banishment. To the credit of that Colony it must be stated that, in the execution of these laws, great leniency was exercised during the persecuting period which was terminated in 1662, by order of King Charles the Second.

Newport on Aquidneck was the landing place of the first Quaker ship, the City of Refuge, and headquarters of the Quaker missionaries from England. Here, on Rhode Island, where John Clarke and his associates, exiled from Boston in 1638, had planted the first towns and colony devoted to full perfect religious freedom in a democracy, the Quakers wrought their first and finest spiritual work and saw the first fruits of a harvest. Mr. Jones well says, "They were resolved to be free themselves and to set other men's souls free from all ecclesiastical tyranny." The leaders in the Newport group of converts to the new faith were Coddington, Coggeshall, Easton, the Clarkes, Hutchinsons, Dyers and Bulls. Governor Coddington's house was the social and religious meeting place of the Quakers, and the Governor was the chief of the group, as he had been the chief of the first settlers of Boston in 1630, as he says, "I was entrusted in the first settling (of Boston), even before Boston was named or any house therein, and I builded the first good house, in which the Governour now lives."

While five of the Quaker apostles of *The Woodhouse* were engaged in mission work at Aquidneck and in the Plymouth and Bay colonies, the sixth, William Brend, went to Providence to proclaim the truths of the new sect. The diverse opinions of the Providence settlers attracted the brave pioneers hither. Among the first converts to the truth at Providence was Catherine (Marbury) Scott, wife of Richard Scott and sister of Anne Hutchinson. Governor Winthrop wrote of her: "At Providence things grew still worse, for a sister of Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one Scott, being affected with Anabaptistry and going to live at Providence, Mr. Williams was taken (or rather emboldened) by her to make open profession thereof." It is just to state that the term Anabaptist was often applied to Quakers, Seekers, or any religionists other than the Puritan church of the Bay. Richard Scott was one of the twelve men who formed the first church at Providence, founded by Ezekiel Holliman. Mr. Scott afterwards withdrew from the Baptist church and with his wife became the first converts to the Quakers. Mrs. Scott was the mother of

six children, four daughters and two sons. Two daughters married Quakers—Mary married Christopher Holder, and Hannah married Walter Clarke, of Newport, February, 1667. Mr. Holder was one of the passengers on *The Woodhouse* and went directly to Salem, where he preached first in private and then “prophesied,” after the sermon in the home meeting of Governor Endicott. He was not allowed to proceed, his mouth stuffed with a glove and handkerchief, was taken to Boston on Monday, received thirty stripes on his bare back with a three-cord knotted whip, put in a bare cell, with no bedding, kept three days and three nights without food or drink and was kept in prison nine weeks in the winter without a fire. By special order of Governor Endicott he was publicly whipped each week until freed, receiving about one hundred and eighty lashes. In addition to all these brutalities, the sheriff cut off his right ear, carrying through life this plain evidence of torture and persecution.

Mrs. Scott was at Boston on September 16, 1658, and witnessed the cruel mutilation of her future son-in-law, Christopher Holder. An eye-witness wrote:

Mrs. Scott, a mother of many children, one that had lived with her husband of unblamable conversation, a grave, sober, ancient woman, and of good breeding as to the outward, as men account, protested in these words, “That it was evident they were going to act the works of darkness, or else they would have brought them forth publicly and have declared their offences, that all may hear and fear.” For this utterance Mrs. Scott was committed to prison and they gave her ten cruel stripes with a three-fold corded knotted whip shortly after though ye confessed when ye had her before you, that for ought ye knew, she had been of an unblamable character, and though some of you knew her father and called him Mr. Marbury and that she had been well bred (as among men, and had so lived), and that she was the mother of many children; yet ye whipped her for all that, and moreover told her that ye were likely to have a law to hang her if she came thither again, to which she answered, “If God calls us woe be to us if we come not, and I question not but he whom we love will make us not to count our lives dear unto ourselves for the sake of his name.” To which your Governor John Endicott replied: “And we shall be as ready to take away your lives as ye shall be to lay them down.”

Patience Scott, a girl about eleven years old, daughter of Catherine Scott, going to Boston as a witness against the persecution of Quakers, was sent to prison, others older being banished. One of the court officers remarked: “Some of ye confest that ye had many children, and that they had been well educated, and that it were well if they could say half as much for God as she (Patience) could for the Devil.” A short time after, Mary Scott went to visit Christopher Holder in prison and was herself seized and kept in prison at Boston a month. She was married to Mr. Holder, August 12, 1660, and died in 1665. He died in 1688, leaving two

daughters. The Scotts of Northern Rhode Island are descended from Richard and he from the noted Scotts of Scotland.

The Quaker faith had made so great triumphs in the American colonies that George Fox, the founder, decided to visit the Friends scattered along the Atlantic Coast in 1671, and here we will note some of the leading facts as to this great religious leader.

George Fox was born in Drayton, England, in 1624, and died in London, in 1691. His father was a zealous Presbyterian, poor and unable to give his son an education beyond reading and writing. The boy was grave, fond of solitude and contemplation, meditating upon the teachings of the Bible. At the age of nineteen he gave up the work of shoemaking, to which he was an apprentice, and led a wandering life alone in the woods and in solitary places, practicing a rigid self-denial. In 1648 he made his first appearance as a preacher at Manchester, England. His peculiar views led to his imprisonment. These views involved a fresh "experiment in spiritual religion." The principle Fox claimed to have discovered was "the presence of a Divine Light in man, a radiance from the Central Light of the spiritual universe, penetrating the depths of every soul, which if responded to, obeyed, and accepted as a guiding star, would lead into all truth and into all kinds of truth." All the distinctive activities of the Friends, all their mental and spiritual ideals and practices sprang from this germinal principle. It is evident that the clearest evidence and the fullest defence of soul liberty proceeds from this principle—soul liberty based on a new, constant and continuous revelation of The Divine to man. Only a divinely human soul could discover fully and enunciate boldly so sublime a truth, seen by the seers of the seventeenth century, "as through a glass darkly," but by George Fox, "face to face." Rev. Ward, of Ipswich, called "liberty of conscience" a doctrine which to accept required "That the brains should be parboiled in impious ignorance." Even Rev. John Callender, writing of the freedom established in 1638 in the little colony on the island of Rhode Island, says:

In reality the true Grounds of Liberty of Conscience were not then (1637) known, or embraced by any Sect or Party of Christians; all parties seemed to think that as they only were in possession of the truth so they alone had a right to restrain and crush all other opinions, which they respectively called Error and Heresy, where *they* were the most numerous and powerful.

George Fox visited America to inspire his followers to teach novices the Truth as seen by Friends and to be inspired by the converts already made and the bright prospects of a greater harvest of souls. The Quaker embassy left England, August 12, 1671, visiting Barbados, Jamaica and Maryland on his way to Newport, where he arrived May 30, 1672. Fox was entertained by Governor Nicholas Easton, who travelled with him

extensively. At the memorable yearly meeting of 1672, Fox, Burnyeat, Cartwright, Stubbs, Lancaster and other eminent ministers of the Friends were participants. Governor Easton and Deputy Governor, Captain John Cranston, sat in the sessions and a great company of Friends joined from neighboring colonies, who were so united that it required two days for leave after the meetings were over. Fox had no sympathy with Ranters, who abounded in many of the colonies, and he relates that the Lord gave him power over them.

While at Newport, Fox wrote to the officers and magistrates of the Colony relative to their social, civil and religious affairs. He declared that the law of God is consciously in every man, revealing *the principles* of conduct and brotherhood. He recommends the General Assembly to pass "a law against drunkenness and against them that sell liquors to make people drunk," and also "a law against fighting and swearing." This is one of the first proposals ever made in America to put an end to the liquor traffic. He advised "that you have a market (public) once a week in your town and a house built for that purpose;" "that some be selected in every town and place in all your Colony to receive and record all your births, marriages and them that die." He urges them to "look into all your ancient liberties and privileges—your divine liberty, your national liberty, and all your outward liberties which belong to your commons, your town and your island Colony." "Mind that which is for the good of your Colony and the Commonwealth of all people—stand for the good of your people which is the good of yourselves." "Stand up for the glory of God, that it may shine over your Colony, and set up justice over all your Colony," "and stand fast in the liberty, wherewith Christ hath made you free in life, glory and power." The letter reveals Fox as a man, in whom were united a fine spiritual nature with a bold conception of the civil state and the incorporation of the practical affairs of human life with civic justice, morality and progress. The visit of George Fox was a blessing and a revelation to the Colony of Rhode Island.

Fox in the company of Governor Easton and other Friends visited Providence, where "God's blessed seed was exalted and set above all." He writes: "I had a lardge meeting and a great travell." "The people here were above the priests in high notions," but "they went away mightly satisfied, and said they had never heard the like before." A second meeting was held in "a greate barne which was soe full of people, yt I was extremely soaked with sweat, but all was well." As Fox does not mention Roger Williams, it is quite probable he did not attend these meetings, but as he had announced himself a "Seeker," it seems quite inexplicable, if he did not. In his book, "George Fox Digged out of his Burrowes," Mr. Williams writes that he had "long heard of the great name of George Fox" and had read his book, "The Great Mystery of The Great Whore."

Fox spent two months in Rhode Island, during which he had planted Quakerism in the Narragansett country, across the Bay from Newport. The progress of the new Faith stirred Mr. Williams to the depths of his soul. As a "Seeker" himself and a friend of the persecuted, who welcomed all classes and conditions to Providence, especially "the poor and distressed in conscience," it would seem a most natural and reasonable course for Mr. Williams to extend the glad hand to the Quakers. Though hard to understand, it is nevertheless true that Roger Williams, who claimed the largest freedom for himself in religious matters, was quite unwilling to tolerate the "Inward Light" of the Quaker Faith. In fact he was stirred powerfully in opposition by the meetings and preaching of Fox and his followers and set himself to the task of silencing the preachers of the new "Principle." To that end he launched his whole vocabulary of contemptuous epithets against the Quakers and their faith. He called them "Pragmatical and Insulting Souls," "Bundles of Ignorance and Boisterousness," "with a face of brass and a tongue set on fire from the Hell of Lyes and Fury." Stronger evidence of Mr. Williams' polemic character and spirit appears in the statement that he would "press the Quakers" if he could, meaning by the phrase that he was in sympathy with the treatment they were receiving and had received in the Bay Colony. In his book, entitled "George Fox Digged out of his Burrowes," Mr. Williams expends all the fiery invective of his nature and of "sharp scripture language" against the hated sect. Even Mr. Straus admits that the book "is characterized by bitter and even discourteous language," although he claims it was in defence of "soul liberty,"—possibly he means the soul liberty of Roger Williams.

After George Fox had left Newport, Mr. Williams sent a challenge to Fox to meet him in debate, and drew up fourteen propositions as the basis of the discussion. These propositions illustrate, in a most complete and unqualified manner, Mr. Williams' life attitude towards the freedom involved in the doctrine of Soul Liberty:

- I. The People called Quakers are not true *Quakers* according to the Holy Scriptures.
- II. The Jesus Christ they profess is not the true Jesus Christ.
- III. The spirit by which they are *acted* is not the Spirit of God.
- IV. They do not own the Holy Scriptures.
- V. Their Principles and Professions are full of contradictions and hypocrises.
- VI. Their Religion is not only an Heresy in matters of worship, but also in the Doctrines of Repentance, Faith, etc.
- VII. Their Religion is but a corrupt mixture of Popery, Arminianisme, Socinianisme, Judaisme, etc.
- VIII. The People called Quakers (in effect) hold no God, no Christ, no Spirit, no Angel, no Devil, no Resurrection, no Judgment, no Heaven, no Hell, but what is in man.

IX. All that their Religion requires (externall and internall) to make converts and proselites, amounts to no more than what a Reprobate may easily attain unto and perform.

X. The Popes of Rome doe not swell with and exercise a greater pride than the Quaker spirit hath expresst and doth aspire unto, although many truly humble souls may be captivated amongst them, as may be in other religions.

XI. The Quaker's Religion is more obstructive and destructive to the conversion and salvation of the Souls of People than most of the religions this day extant in the world.

XII. The sufferings of the Quakers are no true evidence of the Truth of their religion.

XIII. Their many Books and writings are extremely Poor, Lame, Naked, and Sweld Up with high titles and words of Boasting and Vapor.

XIV. The Spirit of their Religion tends mainly, (1) To reduce Persons from Civility to Barbarisme; (2) To an arbitrary Government and the Dictates and Decrees of that sudden spirit that acts them; (3) To a sudden cutting off of People, yea of Kings and Princes opposing them; (4) To as fiery Persecutions for matters of Religion and Conscience as hath been or can be practiced by any Hunters or Persecutors in the world.

In these propositions we find the deliberate misrepresentation of Massachusetts Presbyterianism, united with an intense personal contempt for the Quaker leaders and advocates, both of which characteristics appear in Mr. Williams' treatise, "George Fox Digged Out of His Burrowes." One can almost feel the lash of the Puritan three-corded whips and feel the grip of the hangman's rope as we read the pages of this strange and vituperous arraignment of the Quakers. Here we see the well authenticated attitude of the man who has been styled the Pioneer Apostle of religious freedom in America. He is now sixty-five years of age, and has spent over forty of those years amidst the sober and sobering experiences of pioneer life, in the wilderness. His individualism and what John Quincy Adams calls "a conscientiously contentious" spirit have brought him into sharp controversies, hard encounters and bitter opposition in civil, social, religious and colonial affairs. We naturally expect at this period of a man's career, a well-balanced, judicial mind, a conservative spirit and a charitable temper,—the clear products of experience, vision and brotherhood. Mr. Williams' attitude towards the Quakers seems to do violence to these usual resultants and we find him rowing his boat to Newport from Providence, a distance of thirty miles, for a day and late into the night, to enter the debate with the Quakers, who had enlisted in the religious contest, incident to his challenge. The discussion was held in the Quaker meeting house at Newport. His opponents were John Burnyeat, John Stubbs and William Edmundson,—all able expounders of the Faith. The plan agreed upon was that seven of the propositions were to be debated at Newport and seven at Providence. Mr. Williams' brother, living at Newport, volunteered to assist in support of the proposi-

tions, but he declined all assistance and fought his fight alone. The debate continued for three days at Newport and one day at Providence and was attended at each place by a great concourse of people. The contest settled no point of doctrine or duty and was a draw game in a theological struggle, the record of which is a melancholy monument to the bitterness of a warfare, which illustrated little of "the grace of saintliness, the beauty of holiness, or the persuasive sweetness of the divine Light in Men." That the Quaker cause gained many converts and the establishment of new centres of work and worship in the Colony of Rhode Island, is the surest testimony as to the weight of argument of the Quaker debate. Missionaries going out from Newport made converts at Providence, Warwick and Narragansett in Rhode Island Colony, and Yearly Meetings were held in East Greenwich in 1699, in Providence and Smithfield in 1718 and in South Kingstown in 1743.

It was the year 1672 that Quakerism was planted in the Narragansett country, where many able and influential converts were made. Fox writes :

We wente to Narragansett, about twenty miles from Rhode Island, and Governor Easton went with us. We had a meeting at a Justice's house (Jireh Bull, son of Gov. Henry Bull), where Friends had never met before. It was very large, for the country generally came in; and people also came from Connecticut and other parts round about, among whom were four Justices of the Peace.

The seed planted in the fertile Narragansett soil produced a great harvest of devout Friends, and many able leaders and ministers.

The Quaker ministers of that day preached not only their doctrines and beliefs, but also inaugurated reforms of social and humanitarian evils, existent in the Colony. The liquor traffic was the first point of attack. In 1638 William Baulston was licensed at Portsmouth to set up a house of entertainment for strangers, and also to brew beer, and sell wine and "strong waters." Between the years 1655 and 1661 over sixty hogsheads of rum, wine, brandy and other "strong waters" were sold in Providence by Roger Mowry, Richard Pray, William Fenner, Henry Fowler, William Field, Edward Inman, Edward Taylor, Robert Williams and several others. The use of some kinds of liquors was common in every household,—men and women drinking together. Even the ministers had their sideboards for liquors, treating their friends to hot and cold drinks, as a sign of hospitality. The strictest temperance principles were advocated and practiced by the Quakers. Lotteries were opposed, when they were regarded valuable aids by churches and educational institutions. The marriage of members by a minister was regarded as a species of priest-craft, and a simple ceremony of pledges between the bride and groom

was adopted. Friends in no case might take an oath, either as an expletive or a judicial sign, and fidelity to one's promise was a sacred obligation, as was honesty in trade and social relations. "Carnal" warfare was contrary to the Gospel of Peace as seen by Quakers. Their attitude in times of war has often aroused a hostile sentiment to the sect, as supporting an unmanly and pacifist policy. Even in the case of the Revolutionary War, the principle of a peace policy led the Quakers of Rhode Island to expunge the name of General Nathanael Greene from membership of the East Greenwich meeting on account of his red-blooded patriotism, although he was a blue-blooded Friend. Governor Joseph Wanton, the son of a Quaker, refused to sign commissions to Nathanael Greene and the other officers of the "Army of Observation" of Rhode Island, and was refused a commission as Governor in 1776, Nicholas Cooke taking the office in his stead.

At the Yearly Meeting at Newport, in 1717, "A weighty concern on the importing and keeping of slaves" was considered, "to waite for ye wisdom of God how to discharge themselves." Rhode Island, and more particularly the Narragansett Bay section, was the region where the slave trade and negro slavery most flourished in New England. Ships sailed from Newport, Bristol, Providence and Wickford, with cargoes of liquors and other commodities, and returned, loaded with slaves, from the African Coast, for home and other Colonial markets. At first the Friends of Rhode Island owned and traded slaves, for there was at that early day no moral sentiment against human slavery and all professed Christian families that could afford slaves owned them. For seventy years the subject was agitated until, in 1787, in response to a Memorial from the Quakers of Rhode Island, the General Assembly passed an Act prohibiting the African Slave Trade, with penalties of one hundred pounds for each negro imported and one thousand pounds for each vessel engaged in the business.

Thomas Hazard—"College Tom,"—of South Kingstown, was one of the first Friends to awake to the sin and evils of slave-holding. His father was one of the largest slave-owners in Rhode Island and he was brought up in the midst of a large group of household and plantation slaves. Young Hazard was sent by his father to Connecticut to buy cattle to stock the farm on which, at marriage, he was to settle. On this trip, he was entertained at the house of a friend of his father's, a deacon of the church, who remarked that "Quakers were not Christians." "College Tom," fresh from his studies and full of Hazard spirit, was aroused to defend the Quakers, when the Deacon added, "They are not Christians because they hold their fellow-men in slavery." The stray shot hit the mark and the young graduate went home to tell his honored father that he was a convert to free labor. The father threatened to disinherit "Tom"

if he persisted, but the son stood firm in his new views, married, took the farm and cultivated it with free negro labor, in 1730.

In 1760 John Woolman, one of the first anti-slavery agitators, held five meetings in Narragansett and others at Newport, discussing slavery questions, publicly and at the homes of the people. From this date the freeing of slaves by Quakers in Rhode Island spread rapidly and, in 1773, at the Yearly Meeting at Newport, when the following Minute was adopted:

Truth not only requires the young of capacity and ability, but likewise the aged and impotent, and all in a state of infancy and nonage, among Friends to be discharged and set free from a state of slavery that we do no more claim property in the human race as we do in the brutes that perish.

This was the final official word of the highest authority of the Friends as to slavery, and the subsequent records relate to "dealings" with Quaker slave owners.

The most celebrated case of "dealing" in the Colonies was that of Hon. Stephen Hopkins, a member of Smithfield Monthly Meeting. He had been Governor of Rhode Island for nine terms, and was at that date, 1774, a member of the Continental Congress, sitting at Philadelphia. He was the most distinguished citizen and statesman of the Rhode Island Colony. He had one slave woman, whom he would not free. On his final refusal to give her her freedom, his name was removed from the roll of Friends and he ceased to be under their care.

That the Quakers of Rhode Island started well and won a high place in social, civil and spiritual concerns in the last half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries admits of no debate. For two generations and more, Quaker Governors, Deputy Governors, Assistants, and members of the General Assembly held the chief offices of the Colony by the major choice of the people. The Courts and Magistrates were chiefly Quakers. It is one of the anomalies of Colonial political life that the quiet, unostentatious Quaker, unambitious for office, not a seeker for worldly honors, should have held sway in a Colony of men of all shades of religious belief or unbelief for a century, while Roger Williams, the founder and father of Providence, was elected to the Presidency for a single year. The Quaker population was not large, but the Quaker influence prevailed and governed a discordant people.

But a change came and the Quaker political power declined, while other denominations of Christians assumed supremacy, and all this was due to the Quaker neglect of common and higher education. The "Inner Light" needed the reënforcement of the light of science, literature, history, poetry, economics and statecraft. The Quaker built the meeting house, but neglected the school house, the seminary and the college.

The Rev. Dr. James McSparran, an outspoken missionary of the Church of England, at St. Paul's Church, Narragansett, 1721-1756, wrote of conditions religious and educational:

In Rhode Island no Religion is established. There a man may, with impunity be of any Society or of none at all; but the Quakers are, for the most part, the People in Power. * * * Their Descendants and Successors (of the Founders), without Schools, without a regular Clergy, became necessarily rude and illiterate; and as Quakerism prevailed, Learning was decried, Ignorance and Heresy increased.

The first reference to "guarded" Quaker education in New England is found in Newport under date of 1684, when Christian Loddwick was granted the use of the Friends' meeting house in Newport "for keeping of a school." "Guarded education" meant special or private schools for Quaker children only, under Quaker teachers, with special books for instruction.

For a hundred years the Quakers of New England had only these local schools, but the loss of influence and numbers and the natural awakening of the human mind in the years of the Revolutionary struggle led the broadening minded Quakers to see and to provide for a broader education. In 1779, at the Newport Yearly Meeting, a large committee was chosen to consider the establishment of a school or schools of a secondary type. After three years of deliberation, the slow but safe and practical Quaker mind recommended the establishment of a central school, one of its functions being the preparation of teachers for the local communities. It was decided to establish the school at Portsmouth, Rhode Island. This was the first Yearly Meeting School in America and was opened 1784, with Isaac Lawton as "Master," "trusting to receive seventy-five pounds per year to keep the school." As sufficient funds did not materialize, the school closed in 1788, in part owing to a faulty location in an island town and at a great distance from the larger body of New England Friends.

The reestablishment of this secondary school was accomplished in 1819, by the persistent labors of Moses Brown, one of the celebrated "Four Brown Brothers" of Providence, "Johnny, Josey, Nickey, Mosey." He was one of the founders of the school at Portsmouth, and after thirty years of suspension, Mr. Brown, by a large donation of land and money, planted it permanently on his own estate at Providence, where it has had a famous history and has rendered great service in the education of young men and women. At first known as *The Friends' School*, it now bears the name of its distinguished and honored Quaker founder, Moses Brown, and is called "THE MOSES BROWN SCHOOL."

That the Quakers were wise and prudent governors, legislators,

counsellors and judges is most apparent to the student of Rhode Island history. In the midst of a multitude of sects, they held the confidence of the great body of the people for executive ability, honesty in administration, and save for a pacific policy in war times, were prudently progressive. While the official administrations of the governors will appear in the chapter on Colonial Governors, some brief reference follows of a more personal character.

William Coddington, Sr., whose career in Boston has already been given, accepted the Quaker doctrines from the first missionaries at Newport. His wealth, social position and official rank gave the Quaker cause signal and unexpected strength. Mr. Coddington was Judge at Portsmouth, 1638-1639; also at Newport, 1639-1640, and Governor of Rhode Island Colony on Aquidneck from March 12, 1640, to May 19, 1647. He was also Governor under the Royal Charter, 1674-1676, and from August 28, 1678, to November 1, 1678, dying in office. He was Deputy Governor, 1673-1674. He was the first person to engage in commercial enterprises in Newport. Judge Durfee says of him: "He had in him a little too much of the future for Massachusetts, and a little too much of the past for Rhode Island, as she then was." He was the founder of the Colonial Judiciary and with Dr. John Clarke framed the *Code of Laws* adopted in 1647.

Nicholas Easton, who was prominent in Boston affairs (born 1592, died 1675), was one of the signers of the Portsmouth Compact in 1638, and the second signer of "The Agreement" of the Newport settlement in 1639. Easton and Dr. John Clarke were chosen to correspond with Sir Harry Vane "to treat about obtaining a Patent of the Island from his Majestie," Charles the First. He was elected an Assistant in 1640-42-43-44-53, and President under the Patent from May, 1650, to August, 1651, from May 1, 1654, to September 12, 1654, and Governor under the Charter from May, 1672, to May, 1674. He was Deputy Governor under the Charter from 1666 to 1669 and from 1670 to 1671. Nicholas Easton was one of the most interesting men of the founders of Aquidneck, and was in the front rank in civil and religious freedom. He built the first house at Newport and the first wind mill on the Island and was among the first to accept the Quaker faith. He was a large land-holder and the long beach bears his name. He and wife Christian were buried in the Friends' Burial Ground.

John Easton, son of Nicholas (1624-1705), was Attorney-General of Newport and Portsmouth 1653-54 and for the Colony 1656-57-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-72-73-74; an Assistant, 1666-74-76-81-86-89-90; Deputy Governor from 1674-1676, and Governor from 1690-1695. His official life in various offices extended over a period of fifty years.

Peter Easton, son of Nicholas, held the office of Commissioner for Newport for two years.

Walter Clarke, "a Quaker war policy" Governor, held the office for three separate periods, 1676-77, May 1686, to July, 1686, and January, 1696, to March, 1698. He was the oldest son of Jeremiah Clarke, one of the original founders of Aquidneck. The father had occupied the offices of captain of militia, treasurer for the town of Newport, and also of the four towns, 1647-49. He also was acting Governor for a period during Governor Coddington's terms. Walter, born 1640, died 1714, held public offices for many years, being a Deputy, 1667-70-72-73; an Assistant, 1674-75-75-99; Deputy Governor, 1697-80-81-82-83-84-85-86, 1700-14,—a period of twenty-two years. He was a member of the Council of Sir Edmund Andros, which met at Boston, December 22, 1686. Four brothers of Governor Clarke held important places in church and state. That Mr. Clarke held public office for thirty years and more is evidence that the Quaker peace policy was the prevailing sentiment of the people of the two Colonies of Narragansett Bay.

Henry Bull, the next Quaker Governor, a follower of Anne Hutchinson in Boston,—a founder and an active participant in the organization and conduct of the two Aquidneck towns, and an early proselyte of the Quaker faith, held the office from 1685-1686, February 27 to May 7, 1690. Mr. Bancroft refers to Governor Bull as "one of the old Antinomian exiles, the more than octogenarian, * * * the fearless Quaker, true to the light within, who employed the last glimmerings of his life to restore the democratic charter of Rhode Island." His son, Jireh, was one of the first Quakers to settle in the Narragansett country. Governor Bull died January, 1695, in his eighty-fifth year.

Caleb Carr was the last of the Quaker Governors during the Coddington period, although the end of the first period of strong Quaker political influence ended with the career of Governor Walter Clarke, in 1714. From Coddington's first administration to Clarke's death, men of the democratic or Quaker political policy had held almost complete control of civil and political affairs in the Narragansett Bay Colonies,—nearly three-quarters of a century. Of the Judges, Presidents and Governors, two were Providence men, Dexter and Williams, three were of Warwick and sixteen of Newport. The General Assembly, the general officers, as well as the Governors and Deputy Governors, were men who foreshadowed the Quaker ideals, and on the advent of the disciples of Fox accepted and acted on Quaker principles, in affairs of religion and civil life. Easton and Clarke were accepted preachers of the Quaker faith and went forth to scatter seed in this and other Colonies. They were always true to the doctrines of soul liberty and democracy,—the basic principles of the Asquidneck founders. Mr. Jones says of this group of Quaker politicians and legislators: "They were not perhaps great statesmen, but they were brave forerunners of the American idea that the Colonists should govern

themselves, * * * the principle that gave birth to the American Nation and on which its political life rests to-day."

Between the two Quaker epochs, the Coddington and Wanton periods, —two of the most distinguished men held the offices of Governor; the first, Samuel Cranston, of Newport, holding the position twenty-nine years,—dying in office,—and Joseph Jenckes, of Providence, Governor for five years. Both are treated in the chapter on Colonial Governors.

The Wanton family, with four Rhode Island Governors on its honor roll, cut a large figure in our Colonial life, social, industrial, commercial and political. Edward Wanton, the American ancestor, born 1629, was a ship builder, living in Scituate, Massachusetts, and was one of the first and most distinguished to accept the Quaker faith. He had been an officer on guard in Boston at the execution of the first Quaker martyrs and was impressed by their spirit and heroism. He went home from the execution greatly changed in his feelings, saying, as he unbuckled his sword: "Mother, we have been murdering the Lord's people, and I will never put a sword on again." His house at Scituate was the home of the meeting and headquarters of visiting Friends, he being the foremost minister in that section and held in high regard by his townsmen.

His oldest son, Joseph, was also a ship builder, and removed to Tiverton about 1692, being one of the founders of the town which was transferred from Massachusetts to Rhode Island in 1747. Two other sons, William and John, settled at Newport and engaged in ship building about 1702. The Wantons were men of enterprise and large business capacity, acquiring wealth and social position. William, the first of the name to hold the office of Governor, was not, while holding office, a Quaker by profession, though really exercising the qualities of his father's Faith. Possibly his marriage to Ruth Bryant led to his separating from Quakerism, for her parents hated Quakers as much as his father did Presbyterians. The story goes that William said: "Ruth, let us break away from this silly bondage. I will give up my religion and thou shalt give up thine, and we will go to the Church of England and to the Devil together." Both brothers were merchants as well as ship builders and also sent their ships on commercial enterprises. With a military strain in their blood they performed daring and dashing naval exploits, capturing privates and privateers on our Eastern coasts. In a single cruise of two months in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in 1702, Captain William Wanton captured and brought into port three French ships, one of them a privateer of two hundred and sixty tons, carrying twenty guns and forty-eight men, another a vessel of three hundred tons, with sixteen guns, and the third a vessel of one hundred and sixty tons, mounting eight guns, all loaded with dried fish. The patriotism and great business abilities of the Wantons won for them great popularity and leadership in all public affairs. From 1704 to

his death in the governorship in 1733, William was almost continuously in public office, being a Deputy seventeen years, Speaker of House of Deputies sixteen years, Colonel of the Island regiment, and Governor by two elections, 1732-33.

His younger brother, John, succeeded to the governorship, holding the office from 1734 to 1740, he too dying in that office. He had been Deputy Governor in 1721-22, 1730-1734. Governor John Wanton was a minister of the Quaker faith and was a powerful and persuasive preacher. It is said that he was the most eloquent speaker of his day in New England. Multitudes gathered to hear him in New England, New York and Pennsylvania. He was the wealthiest man in the Colony of Rhode Island, his manners were refined, and though a Quaker preacher, wore a "bright scarlet cloak lined with blue." Bishop Berkeley came to Newport during the Governorship of William Wanton, and was warmly received and cherished by the two brothers, Governors.

Gideon Wanton, son of Joseph of Tiverton, was Colonial Treasurer from Rhode Island from 1732 to 1744, and Governor for two years, 1745-46 and 1747-48.

Joseph Wanton, the last of the Wanton family to serve as Governor, holding the office from 1769 to November, 1775, was not a Quaker, and was deposed from office on account of disloyalty to the American Independence.

The other Quaker Governor of the Wanton Period was Stephen Hopkins, whose career is fully described in the chapter on Colonial Governors.

Like all other bed-rock movements in religious reforms, the Quaker pioneers were ardent missionaries, courting opposition, obloquy, persecution, and even death, for the sake of disseminating their doctrines and illustrating the power and value of their faith. They were no fair-weather Christians, but the rather courted storms and tempests. They resorted to all sorts of methods to illustrate and defend their teachings. They mocked the savage sternness of the Puritan in ways that trenched on common decency, and, in nakedness of body, paraded the public streets of Salem, as well as in fantastic garbs, to express by act and symbol their ideas of the abject nakedness and absurdities of their opponents. These saints of a new gospel of peace and sanctified holiness went forth in a holy crusade against the usurpers, and to them, desecrators of a spiritual Christianity, and stones, prisons, the fagots, the hangman's rope, were but trophies of Victory and emblems of the Stars in their heavenly crowns.

The kind treatment of the Quakers by the authorities of the Colony, and by the people of Newport especially, won their immediate confidence, and both Newport and Portsmouth may be regarded as the asylums—the American Colonial Cities of Refuge. It is quite possible, and even probable, that the attitude and influence of the Pre-Quakeress, Anne Hutchin-

son, had made the Island towns a spiritual magnet to draw the Quaker forces to Rhode Island, where their first great conquests were made,—so many converts in fact that in a few years the Quaker population was not only a majority in numbers, but in wealth, intelligence and social rank exceeded by far all others.

While many Rhode Island men and women of the Quaker faith suffered various forms of persecution in various ways in Plymouth and the Bay Colonies, it fell to a Rhode Island woman, Mrs. Mary Dyer, of Newport, wife of Mr. William Dyer (for some years Clerk of the Colony, Solicitor, Commissioner, etc.), to be the only woman hung on Boston Common for the Quaker faith. The Dyers came to Boston in 1635, joining the First Church, under Rev. John Wilson, in December of the same year. Both were liberal Puritans and joined Mrs. Hutchinson and her brother-in-law, Rev. John Wheelwright, in the advocacy of a free church in a free state. This union brought the Dyers into intimate personal relations with Coddington, Easton, Clarke, Coggeshall, Brenton, Bull and others of the non-conformist Puritans. Mrs. Dyer was in close fellowship with Mrs. Hutchinson during her long trial before the Puritan Synod, and entered into the struggle sympathetically and passionately. So firm was her devotion that when Mrs. Hutchinson was so cruelly excommunicated from the First Church of Boston, Mrs. Dyer, a member of the church, left her seat, took her arm in support of her suffering friend and walked by her side out of the meeting house in the midst of the gibes of the clerical party, which, in the midst of an apparent victory, suffered a great defeat for freedom in faith. The Dyers joined the Aquidneck migration from Boston in March, 1638, and assisted as co-founders of the towns of Portsmouth and Newport in 1638-39. It is but fair to state that Mr. and Mrs. Dyer were active in setting up the first organized town government in Rhode Island and in the founding the first Colonial Democracy in the world, on the sure basis of zeal, absolute freedom in spirituals, what Mr. Adams calls "New England's first protests against formulas, * * * the ideas of extreme civil liberty and religious toleration."

In the conflict between the individualism of Providence, the mysticism of Warwick and the centralization of Aquidneck, the people of the Island Colony grew into the larger conception of Democracy and a fuller application of spiritual equality, under the wise and inspiring leadership of Dr. John Clarke and President Coddington. While it was not given to Mrs. Hutchinson to welcome the Quakers to Newport in 1657, it is very certain that the Dyers were among the group of the larger vision and the sweeter faith. For had not Mrs. Dyer spent five years from 1652 in her native land, where she had become a disciple of George Fox and a minister of the Quaker faith. On her return home, disembarking at Boston, she was put in prison, but was released by the intercession of her husband, who

had leave to take her home to Newport, "bound in a great penalty not to lodge her in any town of the Colony (Massachusetts Bay), nor to permit her to have speech with any on the journey."

In 1658 the Bay Colony added stripes, ear croppings, tongue borings, jail sentences and death to the already merciless cruelties to Quakers, but still the offending Quakers went to their arrests, floggings and imprisonments, with the alacrity of "brides adorned for their husbands." The records of punishments inflicted are too terrible to be told in an age of humanity. The instance of William Brend, who in his old age received "one hundred and seventeen blows on his bare back with a tarred rope," must suffice. Concerning Mary Dyer, of Newport, our story must conclude. In company with Mary Scott and Hope Clifton, of Providence, Mrs. Dyer went to Boston in the autumn of 1659. There she met William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, just returned from an Eastern journey. The three declared to a Divine Call to visit Boston to testify to the Truth, with their lives, if need be. Arrested and arraigned before Governor Endicott and the court, in answer to "Why have you come," the three replied, "In obedience to the call of the Lord." The next day, after the sermon, the prisoners were called and thus sentenced: "Hearken, you shall be led back to the place from whence you came and from thence to the execution, to be hangeth on the gallows till you are dead." "The will of the Lord be done," was Mary Dyer's answer. "Take her away, Marshal," spoke Endicott. "Yea, joyfully shall I go," was her response. October 27, 1659, was the day of the execution. Midst the din of drums the three walked hand in hand to the gallows, Mary Dyer in the middle. "Are you not ashamed to walk thus between two young men," asked the officer. "No," replied the woman of soul and vision; "this is to me the hour of the greatest joy I ever had in the world. No ear can hear, nor tongue can utter and no heart can understand the sweet incomes and the refreshings of the spirit of the Lord which I now feel." The two men, her companions, were hung before her eyes, and with her arms and legs bound and face covered with a handkerchief loaned by her former pastor, Rev. John Wilson, who had come to witness the hanging of a former church member, she stood ready for the sacrifice of her life on the Boston gallows,—the altar of freedom. The intercession of influential friends spared the gallows its intended victim and Mrs. Dyer was taken back to Newport and, after a little, went on a religious visit to Shelter Island, in the Sound. John Taylor writes of her, "She was a comely woman and a grave matron and *even shined in the image of God.*"

Again she must go to Boston, as she said: "I must go and seek the repeal of that wicked law against God's people." She reached Boston, May 21, 1660, and was immediately seized and taken before Governor Endicott. "Are you the same Mary Dyer that was here before?" asked

Endicott. "I am the same Mary Dyer." "You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not?" "I will own myself reproachfully so called." Then Endicott issued the order for her execution, following which she replied that she had come to secure the repeal of their wicked laws. On June the first, 1660, Mary Dyer was led to her death on the gallows on Boston Common. The din of drums was too loud for her voice to reach the ears of the people, but some one heard her say, "Yea, I have been in Paradise these several days." A few minutes later and Mary Dyer was a companion of the hosts of martyrs,—“One of the few, the immortal names that were not born to die.”

She is described as “a person of no mean extract or parentage, of an estate pretty plentiful, of a comely stature and countenance, of a piercing knowledge in many things, of a wonderful sweet and pleasant discourse.”

Mr. Arnold calls Mrs. Dyer's return to Boston as the result of a “singular infatuation.” But every martyr in the world's long roll of tried souls has had a similar “singular infatuation,”—from John Brown at Harper's Ferry to Jesus the Christ on the Cross without the Gate of Jerusalem. “In obedience to the will of the Lord God I came and in His Will I abide faithful to death.” So spake Mary Dyer on the gallows.

“Father if it be possible let this cup pass from me. Nevertheless not my will but thine be done.” So spake Jesus the Christ at the foot of the Cross.

The Friends' Records of Portsmouth thus note the death of Mrs. Dyer. “Mary Dyer, the wife of William Dyer, of Newport, in Rhode Island. She was put to death at the town of Boston with the like cruel hand as the martyrs in Queen Mary's time, upon the 31 day of the 3d mo. 1660.”

“She hangs there as a flag,” said Humphrey Atherton, of Boston, and he said truly, for this flag of warning of righteous indignation was seen across the sea, and the royal order of Charles the Second put an end to Quaker murders in Massachusetts and made the Endicott administration infamous as an administration of Puritan law.

The Dyer family of Rhode Island already honored by two Governors, is in lineal descent from William and Mary Dyer.

Richman writes: “Mary Dyer, by her martyrdom had been the means of giving to the principle of soul liberty, as championed by the Quakers of Providence Plantations (Rhode Island on Aquidneck), a signal triumph over the principle of persecution as championed by the Puritans of the Bay.”

What finer illustration could be shown of the fruitage of soul liberty as taught in the Anne Hutchinson forum in Boston, from 1634 to 1638,

than was seen in one of her disciples, Mary Dyer, who, taught in the school of a later experience in the Colony of Rhode Island on Aquidneck, and perfected through suffering and persecution for conscience sake, offered her life as a free gift on the altar of freedom that others, through her sacrifice, might become partakers of a more perfect title to the divine prerogative of God's freemen.



CHAPTER XXX

THE HUGUENOTS IN RHODE ISLAND

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The Huguenots, the Puritans of France, were a people of singular purity and of austere virtues. Their intelligence, religious zeal and love of civil freedom and toleration made them the natural opponents of the ancient faiths, and won to their side a large part of the middle and higher classes, friends of the new learning. Civil wars ensued between the Catholics and Protestants, between 1547 and 1592, and were waged with pitiless fury, including in its dreadful record the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, when 30,000 lives were mercilessly slaughtered, on the occasion of the wedding festivities of Henry of Navarre, August 18, 1572. On April 13, 1598, Henry IV, King of France, put an end to the religious wars of the country by the Edict of Nantes, which put the Catholics and Huguenots on an equality in political rights, and military and judicial concessions were made to the Huguenots, with limited religious liberty to both bodies. In 1685, Louis XIV, by proclamation, revoked the Edict and forbade the free exercise of the Protestant religion in France. This suicidal act of the French autocrat drove into exile 800,000 of the most valuable citizens of France,—artisans, scientists, men of learning and of good wealth, industrious, virtuous, freedom loving, law abiding men and women of the country. In her Protestant population, France possessed her most valuable material for strengthening the government, excelling in manufactures and replenishing the army. Driven from their homes by religious persecution, they naturally looked to the New World, and more especially to New England for refuge. The first settlements made in New England were probably at Boston and at Salem as early as 1662. Others were made at Oxford and at Milford, Massachusetts, Hartford, Connecticut, New Amsterdam, Staten Island, New Rochelle and Kingston, New York, and at various places in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, known as "the home of the Huguenots," and in Florida. In the autumn of 1686, by an agreement between their leaders and the proprietors of the Narragansett Country, a little band of Huguenots, tempest-tossed and weary with their long voyage on the seas, located in the town of Rochester (North Kingstown) bringing with them the blessings of a vital faith, of frugal habits and the knowledge of and skill in new industries. The site for the new French town was on Hunt's river, near the house of John Foanes. The price of the land was four shillings an acre cash or twenty-five pounds for every one hundred acres, payable in three years with interest at six per cent thereafter. Each

family was to have one hundred acres of upland if desired and a portion of meadow on the river. M. Ezekiel Carré, the minister, was to have one hundred and fifty acres gratis; one hundred acres were assigned as glebe land and fifty acres to support a Protestant schoolmaster. A town site was laid out for a compact settlement and forty-five families settled thereon, building a meeting house, a mill for grinding grain, and twenty-five houses. Orchards of apples, grapes and honey locusts were planted and mulberry preserves were planned for the production of silk. About five hundred families were to follow this advanced company, if events proved favorable.

For the next four years, by their industry, intelligence and consistent behavior as Christians and peaceable citizens, they won the respect of their English neighbors, who were often glad to avail themselves of the services of the French minister, the French doctor and the French schoolmaster. Soon orchards, vineyards, and gardens flourished where so lately had been the "forest primeval," and the most sanguine expectations of prosperity and abundance were everywhere becoming realities. After the long days of toil and labor, from their humble cots at eventide were heard the prayers of thanksgiving ascending to Him who had brought them safely into the Promised Land, and at the sunset hour the hymn of praise arose to "Him, from whom all blessings flow."

During the first season at French-town, the newcomers were disturbed by their English neighbors, who cut and harvested the hay on the meadows allotted to them, depriving them of fodder for their cattle. Complaints were made to Governor Andros, who ordered the hay crop divided, one-half to destitute English and the other to the French, thereby giving partial relief to the owners, and others in need.

The next source of trouble arose from a declaration of war between England and France, which seems to have aroused the suspicions of the English who held all the claims in their vicinity; and in March, 1690, the government officials ordered the French settlers to present themselves before John Greene, at Warwick, to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England, promising them that in return they should not be disturbed. Previous to this, they had been greatly annoyed by bands of rough and ignorant English colonists, who had entered their houses searching for concealed firearms and ammunition, implying by these acts that the Huguenots were enemies to the government.

Another year passed by, when unexpectedly a small cloud "no bigger than a man's hand" began to show itself above the horizon of their calm but busy lives. Some uneasiness began to be felt concerning the title to their lands, and understanding but little of the controversy, which unknown to them, had been going on for many years between Rhode

Island and Connecticut concerning the proprietorship of the Narragansett country, they could not comprehend the true condition of affairs. When it was finally decided that the parties who had sold them their land had no right nor title thereto, and that they were occupying and improving that to which others had a prior claim, they began to realize that they had been deceived. The poor colonists were soon notified by the proper authorities that in order to hold their possessions, they would be obliged to buy their farms over again since their deeds gave them no title thereto. Discouraged, disappointed, and smarting under what seemed to them the injustice of the English Crown, they decided to make no further efforts to justify their claims, but to abandon their homes once more and join their more fortunate friends in other colonies. Once again, after five years of peace, the discouraged little band were homeless wanderers in a strange land. Some of them joined the more prosperous settlement of their fellow-exiles in Oxford; some went to New Rochelle and some to South Carolina, but by far the greater part established themselves in New York City. No other band of French emigrants bound for America left France with fairer prospects and no other was destined to suffer greater hardship or experience more bitter disappointment. This sad termination of what promised to be a flourishing colony and the scattering of its people recall the dispersion of the Acadian farmers which Longfellow has so touchingly pictured in his poem of "Evangeline."

It has been said "The Huguenots gave a lustre and a glory to every place and everything they touched." It is impossible of course to conjecture what might have been, had they remained, the influence exerted by these earnest, industrious, intelligent people upon Rhode Island colonial history. Many of the Frenchtown Huguenots were of the flower of France, educated far beyond their English neighbors and bringing with them the laughter and gladness of their sunshiny vine-clad hills, and the ready tact, the elegance of manner, the love of the beautiful, and that indescribable finesse which characterizes the Frenchman in all countries and in all climes, and of which our English forefathers were often so sadly wanting. Some of them decided to remain on their farms and others later on, returned, and their children took up the lands they had deserted; and it is a singular fact that many of the oldest and best known families of Rhode Island claim descent from Huguenot ancestry.

By inter-marriage, the energy, persistency and courage of the Englishman uniting with the suavity, vivacity and elegance of the Frenchman have produced an element which has affected our State intellectually, politically, financially and socially. We read of the dispersion of the Huguenots, we know that some of them came to this country, we may even have chanced to notice that they established themselves in our own

State, but so many other matters have claimed our attention we have failed to realize that they became a part of our own people. This bit of Huguenot history like so many others of which we read, seems at first dim and far away, but unlike the others, it becomes aglow with interest, when we realize that we can bring it down to our own times to our own lives—better still—to our own firesides. Because we have carelessly failed to gather up and treasure our family traditions, it may surprise us for the moment, to be reminded that the blood of these same Huguenots flows in our veins and that to-day we are what we are, because they were what they were.

Upon the breaking up of Frenchtown, two prominent members of the colony, Dr. Pierre Ayrault and Moise Le Moine, decided to remain and cast in their fortunes with the English. The descendants of Dr. Ayrault removed to Newport, where his son, Daniel, was prominent in founding Trinity Church, and the family became identified with the history of that city. Among his descendants are the Cranstons and the Gouldens.

Moise Le Moine continued to live upon the farm which remained in the possession of his descendants down to the present day; and his son, Colonel Peter Money, became a leading and influential citizen. The name was corrupted, at a very early day, into Mawney and Money. Of his children, Elizabeth married Joseph Olney; Mercy married Thomas Foy; Lydia married Dr. Ephraim Bowen; Mary married James Angell and was grandmother of the late Prof. William G. Goddard; and Amey married Dr. Samuel Carew. From this family are descended the Congdons, the Valentines, the Wares, the Harrises, the Olneys, the Slaters, the Bowens, the Puringtons, the Gammells, the Iveses, the Angells, the Potters of South Kingston, and one branch of the Whipples. The Dr. John Money, who was one of the party that burned the *Gaspee*, was also the grandson of this fine old Huguenot gentleman.

Later on, other Huguenots, singly or in groups, settled in Rhode Island. Prominent among them was Gabriel Bernon, a merchant of Rochelle, France, a man of remarkable attainments, who came to Boston in 1688, then to Oxford, to Newport, to North Kingston and finally to Providence, where he died in 1736. His house stood on the lot containing the Roger Williams spring, on the west side of North Main street, nearly opposite St. John's Church. The Bernons had been a well-known family in Europe since the earliest ages of the French monarchy, having distinguished themselves alike in civil and military history. He was active in forming three Episcopal Churches in Rhode Island, Trinity in Newport, St. Paul's in Wickford, and St. John's in Providence. We know more of him than of any other French Protestant who came to New

England, for he was a ready writer and carefully treasured his family records. He left daughters only, and although the family name was lost, the genius of the Huguenot has just as certainly been transmitted to succeeding generations. Of the children of his first wife, a French woman named Esther LeRoy, Marie married Abram Tourtellot, also a Huguenot; Esther married Adam Powell; Sara married Benjamin Whipple; and Jean married Colonel William Coddington. Gabriel Bernon's second wife was Mary, daughter of Thomas Harris, of Providence. Of her daughters, Susanne married Joseph Crawford and Mary married Gideon Crawford. From this family are descended the Seaburys of Newport and New London, Connecticut, among whom is the well-known Bishop Seabury; the Coddingtons of Newport, the Helmes, the Robinsons and the Carpenters of Kingston, the Powells, the Tourtellots, the Crawfords, the Dyers and the Allens of Providence.

Another prominent man was Gregory Dexter, who came as early as 1643, a personal friend of Roger Williams. He was a clergyman of whom it was said that "he was so earnest in his ministry that he could scarcely forbear preaching whenever he came into a house or met with a concourse of people out-of-town," and who was pastor of the First Baptist Church in 1669. Among his descendants are the Fields, the Angells, the Fenners, the Greenes, the Kiltens, the Browns, and one branch of the Olneys.

Still other Huguenots who found a home in Rhode Island were Pierre Tourgée, whose descendants are still to be found in Kingston, and whose family has become well known, Judge Tourgée being a noted author, and Professor Eben Tourgée being the founder of the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. The original Tourgée house is now standing (1918); Auguste Lucas, who came to Newport and whose second wife was the daughter of John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians; Pierre Papillon, who came to Bristol; Daniel Grenelle, who came to Portsmouth, and then to Westerly; Francis Ganeaux, who came to New Rochelle, New York, dying at the age of 103, and whose grandson, Dr. Stephen Gano, was formerly pastor of the First Baptist Church; Dr. Vignon, who came to Newport; and Daniel Johonnot, who came to this city in 1686, and who married Susanne, daughter of Andre Sigourney. The name of Andre or Andrew has come down for generations in the Johonnot family. Rufus Barton, who came to this State from New Amsterdam in 1640, is said to have been a descendant of Pierre Berthon, also a Huguenot. If so, then in the fourth generation, following the male line we find General William Barton, the capturer of General Prescott; and following the female line, General Nathanael Greene, two more illustrious

names which Rhode Island is proud to add to the long list of heroes which goes to make up her country's Roll of Honor.

The Geoffreys, the Jacques, the Le Fevres, the Bardines, the Segars, the Cabots, the Hasbroucks, the Champlins, the Dalys, the Millards, the Coreys, the Carters, the Hulings, the Tiffanys, the Goodwins, the Sabins, the Sabres, the Mowrys, the Motts, the Tarboxes, the Cornells, the Bassetts, and many others in Rhode Island are of Huguenot descent.

The corruption of the French names by the English, so strange and so curious, have been most misleading to those who have tried to trace the various lines, and some names have been so changed as to be scarcely recognized in their original form. In the vernacular of those days Champlain became Champlin; Targée, Tourgée; Carre, Corey; Cartier, Carter; Maure, Mowry; Wilard, Willard; Tourneau, Turner; Tebeaux, Tarbox; Corneille, Cornell; Blanchárd, Blanchard; Berthon, Barton and Burton; Souinne, Sweeny; Bouchet, Bushee; Daille, Daly; Colline, Collins; Sabeen, Sabin; Saberre, Sabre; Hamon, Hammond; La Brun, Brown; Guilbert, Gilbert; Marchant, Marchant and Merchant; Le Roi, King; Jacques, Jack and even Jackson; Jerauld, Ger-ald, De La Noy, Del'a noy, Delano and Noyes; De Le Hotel, Doolittle; and Tiffané, Tiffany. Still other names underwent a double change, their bearers having emigrated first to Holland, to England and to Ireland, and then to America. The name Hasbrouck was originally spelled Has-b-r-o-q-u, then b-r-o-q-u-e, then b-r-o-u-c-k. White was originally Le Blanc, then De Witte. Field was originally Des Champs, then Van Der Velde; Grant was originally Le Grand, then De Groot. The Bernons, Ayraults, Johonnots, Le Valleys, Le Dieris, Girards, Le Barons, Lamberts and Tourtellots with some others have preserved their names uncorrupted down to the present day.

So these Huguenots who came to Rhode Island hoping to find it an Eden of fruitfulness and peace, and who suffered and endured that we might enjoy, are none other than our own forefathers; and a brief review of their story, so simple and yet so sad, may bring back to us the well-nigh forgotten fact that while so many of us are proud to bear the Rose of England, the Thistle of Scotland and the Shamrock of Ireland, we may also emblazon upon our escutcheons with equal pride and honor, the Lillies of France.

At no distant day a monument should be raised at Frenchtown, in North Kingstown, in remembrance of this noble attempt to establish a French colony on Rhode Island soil in recognition of the fact that a freedom-loving people, devoted to religious liberty, did at last find in the institutions and government of Rhode Island the full protection of their principles and inherited rights.

CHAPTER XXXI

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES



FIRST CONGREGATIONAL MEETING HOUSE, PROVIDENCE
 Built in 1816



FIRST BAPTIST MEETING HOUSE, PROVIDENCE
 Built by Joseph Brown, 1774

CHAPTER XXXI.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

I wish to consider some of the historical backgrounds of the beginnings of Rhode Island and to relate them particularly to certain great movements in the history of the Christian Church; movements of far-reaching influence and on the whole too little understood.

In its beginnings, the Christian Church was a thing apart and summoned men out of what it taught them was a perishing world into fellowships wholly disassociated from almost every aspect of contemporaneous life. It was the clear belief of the early Church that the world was doomed; they were waiting always for the sound of the archangel's trump when the heavens should be rolled back as a fiery scroll and the earth herself be reborn in a baptism of fire. Why then should they concern themselves with the affairs of the Roman empire or mundane affairs at all when they were so doomed to perish? There was thus no attempt to establish any relation between the Church and the world. The world scorned the Church till it began to fear and hate it; the Church looked upon the world as a doomed and perishing thing. But the world did not come to an end and there came a time in the life of the developing Church when, whether or no, it was compelled to come to living terms with the world.

How difficult all this was we are just beginning clearly to see. Certain French historians have drawn for us the picture of what they themselves would call the *rapprochement*—the readjustments of relationships between the Church and the world. That is, the Christian began to be a citizen, to carry his Christianity into his daily life and to accept those modifications in his conception of Christian living which the necessities of the old world demanded. In the end both the Church and the world were changed; the world distinctly for the better. The Church was compelled to modify her extreme idealism, to become less a thing apart and, on the whole, to condescend from her high estate, but she gained, on the other hand, a new vision of her task and a solid rooting in the soil of history which has, we may believe, more than compensated her for her loss; she began to be an historical force. She came in the end to be a State Church, at once subduing the world and being subdued by it. From that time on new considerations moved her, new necessities faced her. She lived more and more on the outside in organizations, administrations, developments of offices, liturgies and creeds. She did not, however, wholly surrender her mystic inner life, indeed one may discover in St.

Augustine both those aspects of her life and something of the strife which they occasioned even in his own soul, for St. Augustine has, on the one side, the vision of an imperial Church inheriting the imperial continuities of the Roman empire and re-establishing upon spiritual foundations that power and glory to which the world had so long been accustomed. The perishing city of Rome was to give place to the city of God, but the city of God itself was to be an organization, an administration, a principality, a government. Yet in his own life and teaching he never loses sight of that life of the spirit which, independent of form and organization, relates itself directly to God and finds in its fellowship with Him its peace and its power. It is not too much to say that then and there the unity of the Church was really broken. From St. Augustine to our own time there have always been two Churches; the Church of the offices, liturgies, authorities, possessions, administrations; the Church in the world and sometimes of the world, visible and striving through the centuries, and the Church of the spirit, mystic, inner and unseen. There has never been a real and entire reconciliation between these two aspects of the Christian Church; one may well doubt whether there ever will be until the Church militant has become the Church triumphant and we are gathered together in that city which has no temple.

Toward the end of the mediaeval period the external life of the Church grew hard, intolerant and sterile. The Church had gained the whole world; she seemed in sore danger of losing her own soul. The result of this was that long before the Reformation devout souls everywhere, especially in the north, were turned in upon themselves. There was a great growth of quietism, mysticism or pietism, as you are minded to call it. But all these words spell the same thing; they simply mean that a great many men and women, grown tired of outer things, found in their immediate communion with God their real religious life; they did not on the whole greatly care what happened on the outside as long as they kept their inner peace. They were silent souls writing, from time to time, books whose authorship is debated, such as the *Imitation of Christ* and the *Theologica Germanica*,—books whose real authorship is to be sought in a widely shared spiritual temper. From time to time they broke forth into music, half-heard, half-silenced by the din of the world. Michelet, for example, has no more moving passages than those in which he describes the weavers of Flanders, singing in their misery, and in their songs solacing their souls.

We do not know how widespread all this was, but we have reason to believe that it underran the whole of Northern Europe and when at last the Reformation came one may trace the genesis of it, on its spiritual side, to those great inner movements, this temper of immediate communion with

God, independent of creed and form. The Reformed Church found itself quite as unable as the Apostolic Church to get on without making terms with the world, but the explosion of it cleared the way for the expression of all this hidden life which thereupon revealed itself in many ways. An obscure movement, always popular in its character and rooted really in the deep things of the spiritual life, followed the wake of the Reformation especially in Germany. It broke out in the excesses of the peasants' rebellion—the tragedy of the Lutheran Reformation and, though he did not know it, the tragedy of Luther's life—it found expression in moral lawlessness, it came to a head in the capture of that city, but none the less the real power of it continued and it had other far richer, truer and more fruitful aspects. As far as we name it at all we call it the Anabaptist Movement and it is not easily defined, but on the whole it stood for immediate approach to God, the loneliness of the soul in its endeavors after salvation, and an extreme simplification of every ecclesiastical form. It was the parent of modern democracy on the one side and of soul liberty on the other. It is impossible to say how far all this reached or how in the end it came to influence the English Reformation. Puritanism stood for the world side of the Church's life. It was indeed impatient of Episcopacy, more than impatient of Catholicism, and unspeakably militant. But after all it tended to reproduce in its own field just that against which it so much protested: the dominance of ecclesiastical organizations over the souls of men.

There were those, therefore, in England who in the face of Puritanism, sought soul liberty, extreme simplicity of Church organization and a thoroughgoing separation of the Church and the world. These in general are the English Baptists and Separatists. There is every reason to believe that the leaders of this movement came under Anabaptist influence. I believe that Brown did, I am morally certain that John Clarke did and that he therefore represents inner forces which were from the very first always operative in the Church and that when he came to America he was the meeting place, and one must confess more or less difficult incarnation, of two or three great conceptions.

He believed in soul liberty, the right, that is, of immediate access to God and the right to determine one's whole life in the light of that communion. He believed in extreme simplicity of Church life. He believed implicitly in democracy—I do not of course mean a party, but a principle of government—and he added to all this a crowning virtue: a belief in toleration, that is, that others should be allowed to seek for themselves what he claimed the right for himself. The fruits of extreme separatism were not happy in the beginnings of Rhode Island; they have never been happy since. They need constantly to be corrected and en-

larged by other conceptions and to be leavened by another temper. Liberty is not only living by oneself, it is living with other people. It is always tested as much by what it is ready to give up as by what it claims. To be nobly free is to be nobly bound. It is in the perfect law of liberty that all men are at once emancipated and taught to obey. It is enough to say that even Roger Williams found himself compelled to come to terms with the world and that he found out that his extreme individualism would hardly work out either in Salem or at the head of Narragansett Bay. Men must in the end learn to live together. A faith which makes it impossible for us to live with other men in peace has something wanting in it. The independent churches, whether Baptist or Congregational, have paid a great price for their freedom. Right and duty cannot be divorced and true liberty is but a change of masters. None the less we will not forget our debt to the men who at such cost secured for themselves and for us one of the two great cornerstones of all freedom whether in Church or State: the right, that is, to stand face to face with God, to seek the illumination of His light in our consciences and, having seen that light, to walk in it.

Churches and religious societies in Rhode Island have received unusual attention from historical writers. Several reasons are apparent. The small geographical area and the small number of people involved have made a microscopic examination possible. Much has been written to prove or disprove the attitude of Roger Williams as a proselyte from Puritanism to the Baptist faith and ceremonials. Much more debate has been denominational as to the priority of the Newport and Providence churches. Some writers have shown us how far back in the historic past of religious reformations in Italy, Germany, France, Holland or England, Baptists, Quakers, Lutherans, Mennonites, Churchmen and Congregationalists of Rhode Island began their historic existence. As the volumes we are now writing are dealing with Rhode Island history particularly, it is our purpose to show what religious societies have been established, what their spirit and what they have done in solving our problems of Church and State, leaving to other historical experts the solution of origins and propaganda.

The founders and early settlers of our Rhode Island towns were all of English origin and birthright. They inherited racial characteristics, traditions and instincts. All of them were born and reared under the formative agencies and influences of the later years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the reign of James the First, and the early years of Charles the First. It would be a travesty of judgment to style the century from 1550 to 1650 a distinctly religious age. It was not. Religion, pure and undefiled, the religion of Jesus, had little sway over the minds

and hearts of men and women in Western Europe. It was an era of passion, of persecution, of theological controversy, in which faith, hope and love had little practical sway. Like the Arian controversy, which rent the early church in twain, over *Homo*s and *Homoio*s, so, on the little English Island, the controversy waxed hot, passions were evoked, martyr blood shed and martyr fires burned over forms and ceremonials, which had little or no religious significance or moral value. "For modes of faith" these "graceless zealots" fought. To declare the total absence of religion would be a flat denial of the noblest of human instincts. What did exist was the hopeful element in the advancement of human society towards the goal of its highest achievement, the spirit to fight for enfranchisement of mind and soul. The contest primarily centered about personal, political and intellectual freedom, and so far as spiritual idealism inspired and controlled the movement, the age may be called semi-religious and the various organizations and societies that shared in the revolt against autocracy and prelacy took shape and recognition as semi-religious bodies. Whatever inhered in the life of the people as an expression of their new found dogmas or as a relic of their old beliefs and practices, and whatever of new hopes and purposes of a spiritual character either in heart or in ceremonial, the Pilgrims and Puritans and their followers possessed, they brought with them from English to be transplanted into New England soil. In England, the seat of the controversy, the resultant was a compromise in the constitution, the doctrines and services of the Church and a broader and safer democracy for the people, as between the Anglican and the Roman theologies and the political ideals of the two great bodies. In the freer life of a new people in a new land, ceremonials had little to satisfy the conditions of poverty and struggle, and a simple plain democracy in State and Church slowly took shape and finality of form. Old Testament theology and Hebrew interpretations of justice and judgment were adopted literally in preaching and in civil government. The Mosaic Code was transferred from Jerusalem to Boston and the Puritan clergy exercised the prerogatives of the Jewish rabbis in judgments, involving life and death. In sharp contrast to the Hebrew message of an eye for an eye, a life for a life, stood out the bold excesses of Morton at Merry Mount who masqueraded as a martyr to the orthodoxy of the "Nine Worthies of New Canaan," led by "Captain Shrimp," Myles Standish. William Blackstone, the first real English occupant of Rhode Island, was a religious teacher of the English Church of 1630,—as pious as his times and circumstances would allow. His almost hermit life at Study Hill on the Blackstone river, led for years in seclusion, and for forty years an ascetic and religious recluse, suggests a typical religionist of the Middle Ages, in the occupation of monastic

reveries and revelations. His faith and works were limited to his narrow possessions and narrower mode of thought and life.

In 1636, Roger Williams and a few companions came into view at Providence. On his arrival at Boston in 1631, he is named as a candidate to occupy the pulpit of the First Church, during the absence of the minister, Rev. John Wilson, in England. The reputation of an erroneous and an erratic teacher had preceded him and Mr. Williams finds the door of the old Boston meeting house at the head of State and Congress streets closed against his ready entrance, and he goes to Plymouth to be an assistant to pastor Smith, where he stays as a teacher and preacher for about three years. Leaving Plymouth in 1634, Mr. Williams goes to the Puritan Church of Salem, Massachusetts, where the arch-Puritan Endicott holds his strong grip on the theology and politics of the Bay Colony. Puritan antecedents and five years ministration at Plymouth and Salem are proof conclusive that Mr. Williams was a simon-pure Puritan when he began his Providence mission. His membership in the Salem Congregational Puritan Church has never been questioned and there is no evidence that that relation was severed except by death. The distinctive features of Mr. Williams' preaching in Massachusetts were polemic and disruptive in their application to civil society. It was as minister of the Salem Congregational Church that Mr. Williams made his reputation as a controversialist and from which he was separated, on his expulsion from the Bay Colony. In order to understand later on-goings at Providence subsequent to 1636, we must reveal conditions civil and ecclesiastical at Salem, for it was at Salem that the disruptive and disjunctive forces that operated at Providence were first set in motion.

Mr. Williams was twenty-nine years of age when he was formally installed as teacher of the Salem Church, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Rev. Mr. Skelton, even against the protests of the magistrates of the Bay Colony. The Salem Church now becomes the storm center of the Colony, as their teacher hurled his opinions as bolts of wrath against the Magistrates and Churches. The Colony had just escaped threatened ruin, resulting from charges presented against it at London and fears were still entertained of a fresh attack on the Colonial Charter, when a manuscript document was found in Mr. Williams' possession, penned at Plymouth, attacking the government for its home policies and laws. Confronted with the evidence, Mr. Williams confessed his error and consigned the manuscript to the flames. As Mr. Williams was now the head of the Salem First Church with Endicott as a leading member and an ultra in politics, he was emboldened "with teaching publicly against the King's Patent" and against the sin of "claiming right thereby to this country, &c.," and with maintaining "that a magistrate ought not

to tender an oath to an unregenerate person," with other charges of a similar nature. Many members of the Salem Church supported Mr. Williams in his attacks on the Bay Colony and its magistrates, which led the next General Court to reject a petition of Salem for a grant of land. This act led Mr. Williams to cause his church at Salem "to write to other churches to admonish the magistrates of this as a heinous sin, and likewise the deputies." Little attention was given to the letter, when Mr. Williams addressed his own church, exhorting them to renounce all communion with the other churches of the Colony. The next General Court, September 2, 1635, unseated the Salem deputies until such time as their constituents should apologize for having "exceedingly reproached and villified the Magistrates and Churches." The Salem Church and people finding themselves excluded from Colonial relations, made haste to render due apologies for their contumacy. Mr. Williams, their teacher, refused to acknowledge his errors, and was banished for cause and left Salem.

Rev. Hugh Peters, his successor, as teacher of the Salem Church, began at once to restore the Church to loyalty to the Colony and to harmonious relations with sister churches and soon won the people in large measure to a right attitude in civil things. He quoted the covenant of the Church which declared: "We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in Church and Commonwealth, knowing how well pleasing it will be to the Lord that they should have encouragement."

As might be expected, Mr. Williams' teachings at Salem gained for him some friends and followers, among whom were Joshua Verin and wife, Thomas Angell, John Greene, Ezekiel Holliman, William James, John Throckmorton, Francis Weston, William Wickenden, Thomas Olney, William Harris, Stukeley Westcott and others, most of whom were members with Mr. Williams of the First Church. These followed him to Providence, which now became the storm centre of the New England Colonies. Rev. Hugh Peters of the Salem Church, "by that church's order and in their name," wrote to the church in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in order to "have such noted as disobey the truth," giving the names of ten persons, who had received "the great censure" of his church, "wholly refusing to hear the church, denying the churches in the Bay to be true churches." These persons were Roger Williams and wife, John Throckmorton and wife, Thomas Olney and wife, Stukeley Westcott and wife, Mary Holliman and widow Reeves, all of whom, save two, he says were rebaptized, supposedly at Providence. This letter of Mr. Peters to the Puritan Church in Dorchester bears date, July 1, 1639. The persons named were Mr. Williams' supporters at Salem and were among those specially disobedient to their church covenant and disloyal to the Magis-

trates and Churches of their order in the Bay Colony. Concerning the two, not rebaptized, we are left in doubt. According to Winthrop, Mr. Williams was not one of the two.

The event of the baptism by immersion of Roger Williams and eleven others, at Providence, is referred to in Winthrop's Journal, under date of March 16, 1639, as follows: "At Providence things grew still worse, for a sister of Mrs. Hutchinson, the wife of one Scott (Richard) being infected with Anabaptistry and going last year (1639) to live at Providence, Mr. Williams was taken or rather emboldened by her to make open profession thereof and accordingly was rebaptized by one Holyman, a poor man late of Salem. Then Mr. Williams rebaptized him and ten more."

It is most unfortunate for the cause of exact historic truth that there is not a vestige of local records, concerning an event which has been made to cut so large a figure in Baptist annals, Governor Winthrop and Rev. Hugh Peters, of Salem, being our only recorders. Mr. Williams makes no reference to the event, except to deny the validity of the act of baptism as non-Apostolic and to withdraw from an ecclesiastical connection with the Salem malcontents at Providence. Richard Scott, who was a Baptist and afterwards a Quaker, writing of Mr. Williams, in 1678 says: "I walked with him in Baptists' way about three or four months, * * * in which time he broke from this Society, and declared at large the ground and reason for it; that their baptism could not be right because it was not administered by an Apostle. After he set upon a way of seeking, with two or three of them that had dissented with him, by way of preaching and praying; and there he continued a year or two till two of the three left him."

By common consent, the baptismal event that took place on the banks of the Moshassuck was rebaptism by *immersion* or *plunging*. It is well known that baptism by immersion was common in all the early churches, including the Roman Catholic, Episcopal and Congregational. In all the Colonies, where Episcopal Churches existed, baptism by immersion was preferred by adults. George Whitefield, an Episcopalian, and Dr. McSparran, a missionary of that church in the Narragansett country, often baptized by immersion. The latter refers to the immersion of Daniel Updike, an attorney general of the Colony. The baptism in the Moshassuck was a Christian but not a distinctively denominational rite of Baptists and constituted no recognition of a new order in religious life and thought. The men and women were still Puritan Congregationalists, and members of the Salem church, as no new church was organized at Providence. The exact date is unknown, but the year was probably 1639. At the time of their immersion, most if not all of these persons were mem-

bers of the Congregational Church at Salem. The ceremony of immersion did not dis sever their relations with the Church, of which they were members, from the fact that the Congregational Church has always recognized the validity of immersion. Consequently these persons were still members of the Bay churches, evidence of which appears in the letter of Rev. Hugh Peters, dated July, 1639, after the ceremony at Providence, censuring but not excommunicating the members. By accepting and adopting another form of baptism, they did not separate from the Salem communion and the Salem Church records are free from any act separating Mr. Williams and his friends from connection with and moral allegiance to the old Salem Puritan Church. As Judge Staples well declares (in "Annals of Providence," p. 404), "these persons could not form themselves into a church of the faith and order of the Bay Colony Church, until dismissed from it; and after such dismissal some covenant or agreement among themselves was necessary in order to effect it. The form of baptism did not dissolve covenant relations with the Salem Church."

Concerning the persons participating in this rebaptismal event, on the banks of the Moshassuck, it is impossible to make a worthy historical statement. In the absence of records, several religious experts have attempted to make a catalogue of what they consider the original Baptists of Providence. As no two of these lists agree and as some eliminate the female element in the group, it is sufficient in this connection to state that no one of them is correct. Backus names Roger Williams, Ezekiel Holliman, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukeley Westcott, John Greene, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston and Thomas Olney. It is evident that Mr. Backus did not consult Mr. Peters in constructing his list and that other church builders have selected their material from various sources, no one of which is justified by the facts or rather the want of facts. As to one, Roger Williams, there can be no doubt, for by the pen of four writers the fact is made sure. The latest testimony added to those of Winthrop, Peters and Scott, is that of Governor Coddington, who wrote: "I have known him about fifty years; a mere weathercock, constant only in inconstancy. * * * One time for water baptism, men and women must be plunged into the water, and then threw it all down again."

It is equally unhistoric to state that a church, a religious society, or any other form of organization was covenanted and established at Providence by the Salem contingent. Not a particle of evidence exists on which to base a reliable declaration. In early Colonial days the church was the foster-mother of the town and antedated the town organization. In fact, the town was the civil expression of the religious concepts of the people,

who framed its constitution and made its laws. The church was never a by-product but a creator of products and by-products. As late as 1667, the town of Swansea, in Plymouth Colony, took shape and form under the advisory mind of the Baptist Church organized in 1663, by Rev. John Myles. Mr. Willett and Mr. Brown took no forward act in the incorporation of Swansea until such act had been endorsed by the John Myles Baptist Church. In fact the church and town records are found intermingled in the same record book, so much so that it is sometimes impossible to tell whether the record relates to an act of the town or the church. The church and its officers took the lead and the town built the meeting house and supported the church. Providence has preserved some town records, whose dates, the earlier, are beyond discovery except by contemporary writings, but in no case is there the reference to a church or of a body save the proprietary which came into being in 1638. The most diligent search for some evidence of a church covenant, a church organization, a religious society, a worshipful body with an ordained or an unordained leader, has failed to find anything worthy the name of history. The men who have attempted to construct a church, a pastorate and a continuous worship at Providence, from the single event of a ceremonial of immersion, capable of a double interpretation, are certainly the most ingenious ecclesiastical constructive scientists, outrivalling Cuvier in his wonderful anatomic creations.

Rev. John Callender, a Baptist clergyman, born about twenty-three years after Mr. Williams' death, author of the *Rhode Island Centennial Historical Discourse*, writing in 1736, states that Mr. Williams renounced Anabaptist opinions and "turned Seeker, i. e., to wait for new Apostles to restore Christianity. He believed the Christian Religion to have been so corrupted and disfigured in what he called the 'Apostasy, as that there was no ministry of an ordinary vocation left in the Church but prophecy,' and that there was need of a special commission to restore the mode of worship, according to the original institution." Dr. Neale, 1678-1742, in his *History of New England*, wrote: "His church hereupon crumbled to pieces, every one following his own fancy and the worship of God came to be generally neglected." Callender adds: "The most ancient inhabitants now alive, some of them above eighty years, who personally knew Mr. Williams, and were well acquainted with many of the original settlers, never heard that Mr. Williams formed the Baptist Church there (at Providence), but always understood that Mr. (Chad) Brown, Mr. (William) Wickenden, Mr. (Gregory) Dexter, Mr. (Thomas) Olney, Mr. (Pardon) Tillinghast, &c." Moses Brown, a descendant of Chad Brown, a member of the Baptist Church that was later organized at Providence of which he was a lay-preacher, confirms the position of Mr.

Callender, writing to Prof. J. D. Knowles, of Newton, Massachusetts, in 1830.

The evidence that the group of rebaptized persons at Providence soon "crumbled" into diverse units is evident on every page of Providence history for half a century. Westcott, Holliman, Greene, Cole, Carpenter, Field, Harris, Scott, Arnold, Throckmorton, Olney, separate on local issues, land grievances and personal idiosyncrasies. Magistracy was flouted and individualism often ended in fistic encounters or community quarrels. Staples says: "The great liberty which all enjoyed was abused by some to licentiousness. * * * Some claimed the right to do, with impunity, whatever conscience dictated." Mr. Williams does not manifest the distinctive qualities of a religionist or a teacher of any cult nor does he exercise the quality of leadership in the establishment of a church as did the founders of the other colonies. He seems for a time to have held meetings in his own house, but we have no intimation as to their character. Callender states that "Mr. Williams used to uphold a public worship, but not weekly." In 1643, Mr. Williams was announced in London as the Father of the new cult, styled "Seekers."

In this new role of an agnostic, Mr. Williams was now "a free lance" to enter any of the lists that knight-errantry may present. He was an independent of independents, having cancelled all obligations to orthodoxy, and free to choose his path of religious service. He was not versed in leadership hence he could not found or build. He could fight with his pen as was clearly shown in the Bay Colony. There he was a polemic, not a reformer. A reformer attacks ancient evils and stays in the fight until the contest is won. Mr. Williams was wanting in the keen sense of evils that demanded removal, and also in the staying quality that awards and rewards victory. He set no value on diplomacy as an art in spiritual warfare. His great forte seems to have been to worry those who were trying to fight Satan in what they thought a godly way. His first fight in Rhode Island was a frenzied attack on Samuel Gorton of Warwick, whom he charges with "bewitching and bemadding poor Providence, both with his unclean and foul censures of all the ministers of this country * * * and also denying all visible and external ordinances in depth of familism." How devils must have roared at this discharge from the mouth of the man who had poured all the vials of his spleen on the churches and clergy of the Bay and who had just denied all ceremonials and declared religious functions intolerable. In 1644 Mr. Williams published in London, "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience"—an academic discussion of conscience liberty in the form of a dialogue between Truth and Peace. This book was answered by Rev. John Cotton of Boston (1647) in "The Bloody Tenent Washed and Made White in

the Blood of the Lamb." Mr. Williams rejoins in "The Bloody Tenent Made Yet More Bloody by Mr. Cotton's Endeavor to Wash it White." In such a wordy warfare, Mr. Williams is seen at his best, for he was an expert in expletives and well equipped with the theories and loosely jointed doctrines of a licentious conscience liberty, which, as illustrated at Providence, afforded neither civil or religious liberty of a stable character. Mr. Williams' fully developed character as a polemic appears in his treatise on Quakerism, styled "George Fox Digged out of his Burrowes" (Boston, 1676). He was now fully seventy years of age—a period when usually the earlier impulses and immature judgments of life have become regulated by experience, and the sharp edge of controversy dulled by the kindlier sympathies and the more humanized charity of Christian brotherhood. But Mr. Williams shows no change in his attack on Quakerism in the seventies than in his violent attacks on Puritanism in the thirties. He maintains a consistent mental attitude coupled with a singular moral obliquity, which John Quincy Adams characterized as "conscientiously contentious." Mr. William B. Weedon calls his writings as "the vagaries of his individual will." Judge Thomas Durfee writes: "Historians urge that he was eccentric, pugnacious, persistent, troublesome; undoubtedly he was." Prof. Masson calls Mr. Williams, "the arch-individualist." So pronounced were these qualities that he won the enmity of nearly all of those who were associated with him in the fellowship of founding of the town as well as the wide separation of those who came from Salem as his followers. John Throckmorton and wife of Salem were in Providence in 1639, were rebaptized by Mr. Williams, and with Joshua Verin and wife were Mr. Williams' nearest neighbors. Friendly relations soon ceased and enmity was aroused which continued for life. In 1672 Mr. Throckmorton wrote to Mr. Williams three sharp letters, upbraiding him for his letter to George Fox. In one of these letters he advises Williams to provide an armor of proof as Goliath did, "for George Fox is furnished with the armour that thou hast no skill to make use of; having also the sword of the spirit to cut down they vain imaginings." Palfrey writes of "Mr. Williams' restless career." The end to which this discussion leads after a painstaking examination of all available records and evidence is that Roger Williams did not become a religious leader at Providence; that a Baptist Church was not organized and founded except as stated by Callender; that on Mr. Williams' return from England in 1644, he took up his residence at Narragansett and according to Palfrey (Vol. I, p. 345), went into partnership with one Wilcox, in trade with the Narragansett Indians, expecting thereby to become rich. Here he remained until his voyage to London with Dr. John Clarke in 1652-53. From his adoption of Seekerism, Mr. Williams ceased to be



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an influential factor in the religious life of Rhode Island. The story of the bickerings, the alienations and the breaking up of the company of first settlers at Providence is too pathetic to be told in detail, and serves to show that to Mr. Williams never can be accorded the title of a religious leader, or of a founder even of a religious society, to say nothing of the incredible relations of a pastor of a Baptist church, the first in America.

That the Baptist Church of Providence is entitled to be called the first in the town, there can be no question. The date of its organization as a church will never be solved, for the town records are absolutely silent on matters of church or religious history, and a diligent search for church records for two centuries has been in vain. One of the ministers of the First Baptist Church, Rev. John Stamford, about 1785, made diligent search for old records of the church foundations, and has entered as the Clerk's Record that the search for early data was in vain. Mr. Callender states that Chad Browne, William Wickenden, Gregory Dexter, Thomas Olney and Pardon Tillinghast were the reputed founders of the church. Moses Brown, writing in 1830, states his belief that his ancestor, Chad Browne, was the first lay-teacher or minister of the Baptists at Providence. Mr. Brown died in 1665. John Howland agrees with Moses Brown as to the first pastor,—Chad Browne. Dr. Goodwin endorses this view. Callender is authority for the statement that "about the year 1653 or 1654, there was a division in the Baptist Church at Providence, about the right of laying on of hands, which some pleaded for as essentially necessary to church communion, and the others would leave indifferent. Hereupon they walked in two churches, one under Mr. C. Browne, Mr. Wichenden, &c., the other under Mr. Thomas Olney." The Olney church continued until about 1718, when it was dissolved, the principle of laying on hands being adopted generally. According to Armitage, there were four elders in the Baptist Church prior to the separation, Browne, Wickenden, Olney and Dexter.

In 1681, Pardon Tillinghast, who came to Providence in 1646, was the minister or elder of the Baptist Church, continuing in office until his death. On April 14, 1711, he deeded his house called the Baptist meeting house, situated between the Town street and the salt water, together with the lot whereon said meeting house stood, to the Baptist Church and their successors for "the Christian love, good-will and affection, which I bear to the Church of Christ in said Providence, which I am in fellowship with and have the care of as Elder of the said Church." In a memorandum in the deed he declares, "By the same Faith and order I do intend * * * such as do truly believe and practice the Six Principles of the Doctrine of Christ mentioned Heb. VI., 2, such as after their manifesta-

tion of repentance and faith are baptized in water and have hands laid on them." This meeting house, built and owned by Elder Tillinghast, was the first house of public worship in Providence and was erected on the west side of North Main (Town) street, at the foot of Star street, about 1700. A larger meeting house, forty feet by forty, was raised on the same lot, on May 30, 1726, where the First Baptist Church worshipped, until the occupancy of the present beautiful and commodious house of worship, which was dedicated on May 28, 1775, for the public worship of God "and to hold commencements in."

We have now reached the point of declaring that the first church in the Colony of Rhode Island was organized at Portsmouth, in Aquidneck, in 1638, and was the first Congregational Church in America, that the second church in the Colony was organized at Newport in 1639, and that Dr. John Clarke was the minister to both churches. Writing in 1738, Rev. John Callender, minister of the John Clarke Memorial Church at Newport, said, "I am well assured there scarce ever was a time, the hundred years past, in which here was not a weekly public worship of God, attended by Christians on this Island" (Aquidneck). It is a well established fact that all the first settlers at Providence and Newport were, in religious belief, Puritan Congregationalists, most of them being at the time of their leaving the Bay Colony, accredited members of the Puritan churches. As Roger Williams was a Congregationalist after coming to Rhode Island it is believed by many that Dr. John Clarke was also a member of the Puritan Church of England. Dr. Armitage, in his History of the Baptists, writing concerning Clarke, says, "There is no evidence that he was a Baptist at this time (1637), but rather he seems to have been a Puritan much like Roger Williams when he landed there; and as Clarke expected to practise medicine in Boston, he would scarcely have been tolerated there as a Baptist." The fact that Dr. Clarke joined the Hutchinson-Coddington party at Boston and was chosen as a leader of the Exodus in 1638, seems to justify the opinion that he held to the modified Puritanism of the Antinomians.

It is certain that Dr. Clarke was the author of the Portsmouth Compact and that he and Coddington were the Moses and Joshua of the Pilgrims from the Bay Colony to Aquidneck, in the spring of 1638. The erection of a meeting house at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1638, and of another at Newport in 1641, by order of the towns, were among the first acts of the settlers, most of whom were members of the First Church (Puritan) of Boston. Callender says in the Century Sermon that the Puritans, who came to Rhode Island (Aquidneck), desired Mr. Wheelwright for their minister, but failing in this, "in the meantime, Mr. John Clarke, who was a man of letters, carried on a public worship (as Mr.

Brewster did at Plymouth), at the first coming, till the procured Mr. Lenthal (Robert) of Weymouth, who was admitted a freeman here, August 6, 1640. * * * One of their first cares, both at Portsmouth and Newport, was to build a meeting house which I suppose was designed for public worship." Winthrop's Journal is the source of our information on religious matters at Aquidneck as well as at Providence. He relates that a deputation was sent from the First Church of Boston, in 1640, to the brethren on Rhode Island. This committee visited the Portsmouth and Newport brethren, still assumed to be members in good standing in Boston, to ascertain their attitude towards the mother church and, if alienated, to solicit their return to the Boston fellowship. On their return, the three messengers reported to the Boston Church, that a Puritan Church had been organized at Portsmouth "in a very disorderly way; for they took some excommunicated persons, and others who were members of the church in Boston, and were not dismissed; * * * that many of Boston and others, who were of Mrs. Hutchinson's judgment and party removed to the isle of Aquiday; and others of the rigid separation, and savored of Anabaptism, removed to Providence." They reported that Mrs. Hutchinson and others refused to confer with them on church matters, asking the Boston deputies "*What power one Church hath over another,*" and assuring them of their full satisfaction in their new plantation at Portsmouth. The Boston Church, on hearing the report "deferred action," although Winthrop adds, "the elders and most of the churches would have cast them out, as refusing to hear the churches." Callender and Armitage agree as authorities that Dr. John Clarke was the first minister of the Portsmouth Church, gathered for worship as early as May, 1638.

There is full evidence for the statement that a second Puritan Congregational Church was formed on Aquidneck, at Newport, in 1641, with Dr. John Clarke as pastor or elder. Lechford, 1637-1641, writes, "At the Island called Aquedney, are about two hundred families. There was a church, where one master Clark was Elder; the place where the Church was is called Newport, but that Church, I heare, is now dissolved. * * *

* At the other end of the Island there is another towne called Portsmouth, but no church; there is a meeting of some men, who there teach one another and call it Prophesie. * * *

* At Providence, which is twenty miles from the said Island, lives master Williams and his company of divers opinions; most are Anabaptists; they hold there is no true visible Church in the Bay, nor in the world, nor any true Ministerie." In the absence of local records as to the first church at Newport, we are forced to refer to Dr. Armitage, who says "a church was formed in 1641, of which Clarke was pastor, probably another Congregational Church,

for we have no sign that even then he held Baptist views of the ordinances." We are forced again to turn to Winthrop at Boston for a possible explanation of religious goings on at Rhode Island. Under August, 1641, he writes, "Mrs. Hutchinson and those of Aquiday Island broached new heresies every year. Divers of them professed Anabaptists, and would not wear any arms and denied all magistracy among Christians, and maintained that there were no churches since those founded by the apostles and evangelists, nor could any be, nor any pastors ordained, nor seals administered but by such, and that the Church was to wait these all the time she continued in the wilderness, as yet she was." * * *

"Other troubles arose in the Island by reason of one Nicholas Easton, a tanner, a man very bold, though ignorant. He used to teach at Newport, where Mr. Coddington their governor lived, maintained that man hath no power or will in himself, but as he is acted by God, and that seeing God filled all things, nothing could be or move but by him, and so he must needs be the author of sin, etc., and that a Christian is united to the essence of God. * * * There joined with Nicholas Easton, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Coggeshall and some others, but their minister Mr. Clarke and Mr. Lenthall and Mr. Harding and some others dissented and publicly opposed, whereby it grew to such heat of contention, that it made a schism amongst them." Whatever the quality of Mr. Easton's ignorance he was certainly one of the most enterprising of the founders of Newport, built the first house in the town and held every important office from Elder to Governor of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations from 1672 to 1675, the year in which he died. He certainly was not "ignorant" of Calvinistic theology, and if a member of the first group, named by Winthrop, he was a pre-Quaker before the advent of George Fox, who stood for the "heresies" which he attributes to Mrs. Hutchinson.

A letter of Gov. Coddington to an unknown party on church membership, before 1643, says: "When the members ch. is called to remove they must be dismissed from it. * * * It was often then charged yt we should live without ordinances wch I could not free myselfe had I not partaken of having oportunitie soe to doe." Dr. Stiles' remarks on the Coddington letter are: 1. "Hence Mr. Coddington *joynd* another chh. after he left Boston and communicated or *partook* in it." 2. "This was before the death of Miantonomi, which was A. D., 1643. 3. No chh. in Mass. Bay would have admitted to communion those under censure (but Coddington never censured) &c. Nor is there any intimation or tradition that the Rhode Islanders ever participated in any of the Mass. chhs. afterwards."

While the main body of the founders of the two towns, Portsmouth

and Newport, were Puritan Congregationalists, who built a meeting house for worship and held regular preaching services in each town, and organized churches of that order, as stated by Winthrop, Lechford, Callender and Armitage, it is certain that between 1641 and 1644, there was a separation of the people into what eventually became three religious societies or churches, to wit, Congregationalists, Baptists led by Dr. John Clarke and Quakers led by Gov. William Coddington, in the historical order named. It may as well be stated here, that the first meeting houses in the State of Rhode Island were built by Puritan Congregationalists, one at Portsmouth and the second at Newport; that the first religious services of record and the first Church of Christian believers was a Congregational Church and the first minister of that church was Dr. John Clarke, of Newport, at that time a Puritan-Congregationalist.

The records are silent as to the causes of the separation of the religious forces of Aquidneck between 1641 and 1644. Certain it is that a Baptist Church was organized at Newport in 1644, with Dr. John Clarke as its minister, who held the pastorate until his death in 1676. Callender says: "It is said that in 1644, Mr. John Clarke and some others formed a church on the scheme and principles of the Baptists. It is certain that in 1648 there were fifteen members in full communion." Although the way was short between the Congregational and Baptist folds, we have no clue as to the steps which led Dr. Clarke and his followers to pass from one to the other. Assuming the validity of ordination and baptism of the minister and members of the Baptist Church at Newport and its adoption of Articles of Faith and Covenant, and the choice of officers in the ordering of church affairs, it is easy to see that the Newport church holds the primacy as the first Baptist Church of record in America, as well as in Rhode Island, in its foundation in 1644. In 1652, while Dr. Clarke was absent in England, the church divided in opinion on the question of "laying on of hands" as a test of church membership. Four years later, this difference led to the separation of twenty-one members including William Vaughan, an original member of the Dr. John Clarke Church, and the formation of a "Six Principles Baptist Church" at Newport, basing their act of withdrawal on Hebrews, VI, 1, 2, the other five being held by all Baptists. The name *General* was adopted by the new sect in view of the acceptance of the *Arminian Doctrine*, of the potential redemption of all men by the death of Christ, rather than the *Calvinistic Doctrine* of special election, held by others called *Particular Baptists*. The reasons stated for separation were an opposition to psalmody in services, the restraints of prophesying, the doctrine of *Particular Election* and the acceptance of the rite of *Laying on of Hands* as a prerequisite to church membership and *Holy Communion*. William Vaughan, Thomas Baker, John

Harden and James Clarke, a nephew of Dr. John Clarke, were early ministers or elders of this Newport Church. In 1731, this church had one hundred and fifty members, the largest church in the Colony of Rhode Island. At the same date there were seventeen Baptist Churches in New England, thirteen of which were "Six Principle Baptists," holding a predominating influence over the denomination. Later pastors of the Second Church at Newport were Rev. John Comer, a distinguished preacher, who had been pastor of the First Church, Dr. William Rogers, the first student of Rhode Island College, and Elder William Gammell. An offshoot of the Newport Church appears in North Kingstown, planted by Elder Thomas Baker, one of the ministers at Newport. Its earliest records begin in 1710. Other Six Principle Baptist churches in Rhode Island were those of Smithfield, Jonathan Sprague, pastor, 1706; Richmond, Daniel Everett, pastor, 1723; Scituate, Samuel Fisher, pastor, 1725, growing in a century to a membership of two hundred and seventy-six; South Kingstown, Daniel Everett, pastor, 1729; Warwick, Manassah Martin, pastor, with sixty-five members, 1730; Cumberland, 1732, its house of worship, built between 1740 and 1749, known as the "old Ballou Meeting House," still standing on the northern slope of "Iron Rock Hill."

THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

It has already been shown that the first Baptist Church of Providence, by the declaration of Elder Pardon Tillinghast in 1711, was Six Principle Baptist in faith and practise. The separation of a part of the membership in 1653-54, growing out of opposition to the rite, continued to 1718, which, by the death of Thomas Olney, the separatist church was abandoned, and unity restored under the Six Principle doctrines. As far as the Articles of Faith and Covenant of the First Baptist Church of Providence justify, and so far as its acceptance and retention of the Elder Tillinghast gift involve moral obligations, it is still a church of the Six Principle Faith. However, in 1770-71, a singular occurrence took place which led hard on to an overthrow of its ancient doctrine of Laying on of Hands. Rev. James Manning, President of Rhode Island College and pastor of the Baptist Church at Warren, on the removal of the College to Providence, transferred his church relations to the First Church, Providence. Although Mr. Manning was a Six Principle Baptist, he declared himself free to join in the Lord's Supper with those Baptists who were not. A division was created in the church and a secession occurred April 18, 1771, when Elder Winsor, the pastor, Deacon John Dyer and eighty-five other members united in the following protest: "Brethren and Sisters—We must in conscience withdraw ourselves from all those who do not hold strictly to the Six Principles of the doctrine of

Christ, as laid down in Hebrews, VI, 1, 2." The seceding members organized a church with Elder Samuel Winsor as pastor, who held that office until his death in 1802. Rev. Mr. Manning was chosen pastor of the First Baptist Church, in 1771, and preached his farewell sermon to the church, April, 1791, dying July 29, of that year, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His career as educator, pastor and statesman entitle him to the first rank of adopted sons of Rhode Island. His catholicity places him among the leaders of a liberal faith in matters of Church and State.

A *Yearly Meeting* of the Six Principle Baptists was organized about 1700. In 1729, this body contained twelve churches and eighteen ordained elders. In 1802, it had twenty-one churches, some outside of the State. In 1827 there were eighteen Six Principle Churches in Rhode Island, in 1850, nineteen, and in 1853, there were twenty-two ministers and seven hundred and sixty-six members. In January, 1895, *The General Six Principle Baptist Conference of Rhode Island* was incorporated and in 1900 the denomination had ten churches, six ministers, six hundred and thirty-four members and four hundred and ninety-six in Sunday schools. The *Maple Root* and the *Knotty Oak* Churches are alive in root and branch.

The Seventh Day Baptists or *Sabbatarians* in Rhode Island separated from the First Baptist Church of Newport, in 1671, under the teachings of Stephen Mumford, who came from England in 1665. They differ from other Baptists only in respect to the day of rest and worship, claiming that the seventh day is the Sabbath, and not the first. Seven members of the Newport Church (Dr. John Clarke's) seceded and organized the first church of Sabbatarians in America, with Mr. William Hiscox as elder. This Sabbatarian movement was transferred to Westerly by the founders of that part of the Colony, who went from Newport. The organization was formed in 1708, under Rev. John Maxson, Sen., as pastor, and was known as the First Hopkinton Seventh Day Baptist Church. Their first meeting house was built about 1680. This church was the first religious body to locate in the southwestern part of the Colony, and having the support of strong landed proprietors, became a large and influential body, at one time owning two meeting houses. Its first elder, Mr. Maxson, was the first white child born on the Island of Rhode Island, holding the office from 1708 to his death in 1720. He was succeeded by his son John, Jr., who held the office of elder until 1747, and was followed in the pastorate by his brother Joseph who died in 1750. The church in its divisions and subdivisions in Westerly has led in numerical strength and in religious activities and great revivals have been frequent. In 1769, Gov. Samuel Ward and fifteen others became members; in 1770, forty-five were added; in 1779, sixty-five; in 1780, fifty-three;

in 1785, forty-one; in 1786, one hundred and forty-six; by 1793, after the formation of three churches, with over two hundred members, there were three hundred and forty members of the mother church of 1708. In 1900 the Hopkinton Church had three hundred and forty-one members, two hundred and fourteen in Sunday school work with contributions of \$2,827.15. There are now seven active Seventh Day Churches in Hopkinton, Richmond and Westerly, with eleven hundred and forty-seven members, of whom over four hundred belong to the Pawcatuck Church in Westerly. Dr. Dennison writes of this branch of Baptists: "Its members held high and consistent ground against all forms of sin. * * * They were champions for liberty. Always they stood in the van of the anti-slavery movement. Nor less and active have they been in the later reform of temperance."

The Free Baptists, believing in *General Redemption* and *Open Communion*, organized their first church at Hollis, Maine, in 1780, under the inspiring preaching and leadership of Elder Benjamin Randall. In 1812, Rev. John Colby, a Free Baptist preacher and evangelist, visited Rhode Island, preaching in Providence, Smithfield, Gloucester and Burrillville. At Pascoag was organized the first Free Baptist Church of Rhode Island. In 1820, the Second Church was formed in Smithfield by the able teacher and Elder Joseph White. Elder Ray Potter formed a church of that order at Pawtucket, the same year, there came from Vermont Elder Reuben Allen, who labored in Rhode Island for fifty years, preaching in all parts of the State and organizing churches at various places in a preaching circuit of eighty miles. Churches were formed at Chepacket, Greenville, North Scituate, and Coventry. He baptized fourteen hundred converts, attended over sixteen hundred funerals, and married six hundred and fifty couples. He did remarkable pioneer work, and as a revival preacher had great power. At North Scituate, the church was increased to four hundred members, one hundred being baptized in one day. Elder Martin Cheney was a man of unusual power as a preacher and leader in Rhode Island and organized the prosperous Free Baptist Church at Olneyville, in 1828. This church increased to more than seven hundred members during Elder Cheney's ministry and is now the largest of that order in Rhode Island. He was an ardent advocate of the great reforms of the day—anti-slavery and temperance,—and left many evidences of a successful ministry of truth. The Roger Williams Church, in Providence, joined the Free Baptists in 1837, having been organized as a Six Principle Church in 1830. Under the able ministries of Elder J. A. Mckenzie and Rev. Geo. T. Day, the church has grown in numbers and influence to occupy a high rank in its order.

There are now twenty-nine Free Baptist Churches in Rhode Island,

thirty-seven ministers, thirty-six hundred and fifty-two members and thirty-seven hundred and forty-seven persons in Sunday schools.

In this connection, reference should be made to the John Myles Baptist Church of Swansea, Massachusetts, founded in 1663, on territory afterwards ceded to Rhode Island. Rev. John Myles was pastor of a Baptist Church in Swansea, Wales, from 1649 to 1662, during which time two hundred and sixty-three members were added to his church. By the *Act of Uniformity* two thousand ministers of England and Wales were ejected from their pastorates of independent churches, Mr. Myles being one. Arriving in New England with some of his church, he learned of Baptists in Rehoboth and straightway found James Brown, John Butterworth and others, living in the neighborhood of the Newman Congregational Church, in Rehoboth. Seven men and probably more women, although they are not named, united in a church covenant in the house of Mr. John Butterworth and organized the first Baptist church of record in what is now the State of Massachusetts, in 1663. The men were John Myles, pastor, Nicholas Tanner, James Brown, Joseph Carpenter, John Butterworth, Eldad Kingsley and Benjamin Alby. The Puritan and Pilgrim churches of Plymouth and the Bay Colony objected to the establishment of a Baptist church in these Colonies and, on complaint of the Colonies, these Baptist brethren were fined each five pounds "for setting up a public religious meeting without consent of the Court of Plymouth," and were also advised to remove from Rehoboth, which they did, locating their meeting house in Wannamoisett, a part of ancient Sowams, south of the Rehoboth line and between the two branches of the Sowams river. The site of the first meeting house of the John Myles Church, the First Baptist Church in Massachusetts, is on Nockum Hill, in the present town of Barrington and is marked by a suitable monument, endorsed by the Baptists of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, by the Rhode Island Historical Society, and by the Rhode Island Citizens Historical Association. A settlement had already been made at Wannamoisett by Hon. John Browne, Captain Thomas Willett and others. Rev. Mr. Myles and the Baptist brethren had located as near the meeting house as was practicable, forming local settlements adequate for a town organization, and in the year 1667, Capt. Willett was authorized to set up a town which was done, calling it Swansea, in regard for Mr. Myles and his home town, across the sea. Mr. Myles built his own house, near the east branch of the Sowams river, on New Meadow Neck, now Hampden Meadows. At the opening of Philip's War, the settlers of Swansea were the first to receive the attack of the Indians and here the first white blood was shed. The Baptist people fled, Mr. Myles took refuge in Boston and his home was made the garrison for soldiers. At the close of the war, the town of

Swansea erected a new meeting house at Tyler's Point, then called "The Place of Trade," between the branches of the Sowams, on what is now Hampden Meadows. In 1680 Mr. Myles returned from his five years' Baptist mission in Boston, took up his residence near the new meeting house, died February 3, 1683, and was buried in the old burial ground at Tyler's Point. A granite boulder marks his grave, erected by the Rhode Island Citizens' Historical Association.

Rev. John Myles was a Baptist of so broad a faith and of so generous a spirit that he held the Congregationalists in his Catholic fold. His successor, Mr. Samuel Luther, was a man of good ability, without education for ministerial work and lacking in the liberal temper of Mr. Myles. Quite a large number of families of the Congregational faith from Eastern Plymouth towns had made homes "on the westward end of Swansea," while the Baptists had gathered in North and East Swansea. This religious separation of the population led to the removal of the Baptist meeting house from Tyler's Point to North Swansea, thus leaving the people on the west without a place of public worship. With fine attractions for an agricultural migration, the territory west of the Sowams (Warren) river, which was organized into a proprietary in 1653 named Sowams, was taken up by a body of intelligent, well-to-do farmers, mostly Congregationalists in religious faith. Desiring a church worship of their own, they first labored and petitioned for a town as the basis of a church organization. Both church and town came in due time, as will appear under the story of Barrington.

On the 13th of November, 1764, a Baptist church was organized at Warren with fifty-eight members, thirty-five of whom were received from the Swansea church of 1663. Rev. James Manning, its first pastor, had already opened a preparatory Latin school at Warren, being encouraged by those who had a future college in mind. This school went with the college to Providence and became the well-known University Grammar School. Mr. Manning was chosen president of Rhode Island College in 1765, and was the only teacher till in 1766 David Howell was chosen as the first tutor of the college. Mr. Manning was pastor of the Warren church till 1770, when the college was removed to Providence.

From 1706 to 1752 ten Baptist churches were organized in Smithfield, Hopkinton, North Kingstown, Scituate, Warwick, Cumberland, East Greenwich, Exeter, Westerly and Coventry. In 1764 a Baptist church was founded in Cranston; in 1765 one in North Providence and one in Foster. In 1790 there were thirty-eight Baptist churches, thirty-seven ministers and 3,502 members. In 1813 there were thirty-six churches, thirty meeting houses and over five thousand members. In 1844 there were forty-one churches, with 7,381 members. In 1850 there were forty-



CENTRAL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH

nine churches and 7,278 members. In 1890 there were sixty-nine churches, with 12,039 members.

THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

The body of churches in Rhode Island, known as Congregational, while their founders came from the Bay Colony, were, in spirit, more nearly representative of the Plymouth Pilgrim church. While the theological views of Pilgrim and Puritan were nearly identical, the Puritan rather insisted on a state-church and a church-state. He was jealous of church authority and prerogatives and intended to build a commonwealth exclusively Puritan. Hence came the persecution of Baptists and Quakers and the witchcraft craze, all of which were expressions of fidelity to a unified Puritan church-state.

As already stated, the atmosphere of early New England was charged with Congregationalism. Every congregation of worshippers was a self-governing body, with a body of elders or presbyters to which its discipline and government were practically committed. "A government merely popular or Democraticall * * * is farre from the practise of these churches and we believe farre from the mind of Christ," wrote Richard Mather. "The power of church government we give neither all to the people excluding the elders nor all to the elders excluding the people." As the Bay churches held in some slight measure the influence of the Episcopal government of most the English church forms and ceremonies, it is not strange that we find the term Presbyterian attached to the Puritan church bodies, as determined by the Cambridge platform, while "Orthodox," "Evangelical," "Congregational," "Pedobaptists," "Old Lights," "New Lights," were terms frequently used in the first century and a half of Massachusetts ecclesiastical history.

Plymouth Pilgrims were orthodox in Calvinistic theology, but were more liberal in the treatment of dissenters, and, as early as 1663, allowed Rev. John Myles to set up a Baptist church on Plymouth Colony territory, and four years later incorporated the town of Swansea as a home for the newly-established Baptist body. As early as 1655 Hon. John Browne, of Wannamoisett, for many years one of the Governor's assistants and a member of the General Court of Plymouth, was opposed to the coercion of the people of Rehoboth to support the Congregational church in that town and agreed to make up any deficit that might arise from those refusing to pay. Even as early as 1636, Roger Williams would have remained on his squatter plantation at Seekonk had not the Bay Colony demanded his removal by Plymouth.

The leading principles of the Congregationalists are these:

1. A Congregational church is a voluntary union of Christians, covenanting for worship, for ordinances, for fellowships and missions.

2. Each church is an independent body, under Jesus as Head of the church.

3. Each member has an equal voice in church control and an equal share in all church privileges. All officers are elected by and subject to the whole local church in all official acts.

4. Congregational churches are bound in fraternal coöperation in work, in conference and in council. Church councils have no judicial or ecclesiastical control, only advisory, unless expressly conferred by the individual church.

6. Congregationalists recognize, with true Catholic spirit, all associations of followers of the Christ and extend fellowship and the freedom of Holy communion to all such.

The present State of Rhode Island had two ecclesiastical historic starting points, Providence in the north and Newport in the south. Providence was settled by Roger Williams and others from Salem, most of whom were members of the Salem Puritan Congregational Church at the time of their migration, and so far as the Salem church records go, their church relationship was never dissolved, either by regular dismissions or by excommunication. As already stated, Providence was founded by Puritan Congregationalists of Salem of various shades of belief, from orthodox to "Seekers." Aquidneck was settled by Puritan Congregationalists from Boston, all of whom held fast to the orthodox faith of the earlier church until the founding of a Baptist church at Newport in 1644 by Dr. John Clarke. So far as the records of Boston appear, the Aquidneck founders were never excluded from the Boston communion. With such antecedents, we are now called to witness the essential variations and departures from the old faith. In the adoption of the rite of immersion, the founders did not depart from Congregational rites and precedents. Nor was the separation into Arminian or Calvinistic or even Arian sects, a departure from Congregationalism distinctively. Even the several divisions of the Baptist church all held and still hold the chief features of the Congregational body, as already set forth.

The backbone of the distinctive Congregational churches of Rhode Island was the growth of Pilgrim Congregationalism of the seventeenth century and is evidence of the wonderful vitality of the Pilgrim faith, as embodied in our democracy of the twentieth century. The churches which constitute this spinal column are located at Pawtucket, East Providence, Providence, Barrington, Bristol, Fall River, Tiverton, Little Compton and Newport, all of which save two, Providence and Newport, were formed and grew under the abundant life and faith of the old colony, Plymouth. All are proud of their origin and historic life, though not in all matters distinctly Congregational in church polity. The oldest of these churches is the Newman church at Rumford, East Providence, and dates its origin with the settlement of ancient Rehoboth by Rev. Samuel New-

man and his associate founders in 1643. This church has had a continuous, vigorous life to this day, celebrating its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary in 1893. Its first minister was a distinguished student of Biblical literature and wrote "Newman's Concordance," afterwards revised and enlarged under the title of "Pruden's Concordance."

The Barrington Congregational Church dates its organization with the birth of the town, in its separation from Swansea, November 17, 1717. There were a number of Congregational families in the western part of Swansea, who either worshipped with the Newman church, six miles to the north, or with the John Myles Baptist Church on Nockum Hill. The death of the liberal Myles and the removal of the meeting house from Tyler's Point led to a movement of the Congregationalists in that section of old Swansea to secure a new town, composed mainly of people who desired religious privileges of their own faith and order for themselves and their children. On the 30th of May, 1711, a petition was sent to the General Court of the Bay Colony, asking for "the inhabitants on the Westward end of Swansea * * * a township according to the limits of Captain Samuel Low's military company, thereby enabling us to settle and maintain a pious, learned and orthodox minister for the good of us and our posterity." In October, 1711, the Boston court passed an order declining to divide the town, "but approving the good and laudable inclinations of the petitioners to encourage religion in that part, and to recommend to them the establishment and support of a learned orthodox minister of good conversation, and to endeavor by subscription for his comfortable and honorable maintenance." This course was promptly pursued and Mr. John Wilson, a graduate of Harvard College in 1705, son of Rev. John Wilson, of Braintree, grandson of Rev. John Wilson, of Medfield, and great-grandson of Rev. John Wilson, of the First Church of Boston, was secured as minister in 1712. He built an "elegant seat," as his house was called, at Barrington, in which he lived for a brief period with his wife and son John, dying suddenly of a fever in 1713, while waiting for his ordination. Judge Sewall makes record of the fact that Mr. Wilson had been invited to become pastor at Swansea (Barrington), leaving us to infer that provisions had been made for his support by the orthodox Congregationalists of the neighborhood, to whom he had preached for a year or more. The "elegant seat" referred to was a brick house, colonial style, standing on the southwest corner of the Warren road, at Barrington Centre, and was later the residence of Hon. Paul Mumford, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, a delegate to the Colonial Congress and Lieutenant-Governor of Rhode Island from 1803-1805.

The efforts of the Congregational people for a new town were continued and resulted in the formation of a new town named Barrington on

November 18, 1717. Under the ancient order in Massachusetts, the business relating to the choice, settlement and support of a minister was transacted by the town in town meeting, and at such a meeting at Barrington, on April 21, 1718, the townspeople "chose the Reverend Mr. Samuel Torrey to be the minister for the said town." "For the labor voted to give £100 as a settlement" and "have £70 as a salary for the labor * * * to be collected by the constable yearly, and payed into the town clerk, and by him to be payed to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Torrey." Messrs. Zachariah Bicknell, James Adams and Sergeant Nathaniel Peck were a committee to treat with Rev. Samuel Torrey in relation to the vote of the town, and on the fourth day of August, Mr. Torrey, in open town meeting, in the presence of the freemen of the town, "accepted the call of the town to be their minister for the futor." Rev. Samuel Torrey thus became the first minister of the town and the church, the assumption being made that the church was organized prior to the call given Mr. John Wilson to the pastorate. He married the widow of Mr. John Wilson. The creation of a town for the establishing of the Congregational church and the acts of the town in securing and supporting a minister was the way of the Bay Colony two centuries ago. "*Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.*" It is apparent that the term Congregational, as applied to the Barrington church was a misnomer, as the minister was called by the town, settled by the town, paid by the town and dismissed by the town—evidencing all the elements of a church-state. Even Rev. Solomon Townsend, minister of the church from 1743-1798, was chosen and installed by authority of the town. Three distinguished ministers occupied the pastorate of the Barrington Congregational Church until 1816—Rev. Peleg Heath, 1728-1740; Rev. Solomon Townsend, 1743-1798, and Rev. Samuel Watson, 1798-1816. A Sunday school was established in 1816, during the successful ministry of Rev. Luther Wright. The church celebrated its two hundredth anniversary in 1917 in the pastorate of Rev. Prentice A. Canada.

Bristol was founded by men of the Congregational faith, as were all the towns on the east shore of Narragansett Bay and the Pawtucket river. Swansea was no exception, as pedobaptism and anabaptism were ignored by the founders in the settlement of the town in 1667 by mutual agreement, and so far as appears, the Baptist church did not in this instance deny freedom of conscience as to the Holy Communion, thereby excluding Congregationalists. The deed of the Mount Hope Lands (Bristol) to John Walley, Nathaniel Byfield, Stephen Burton and Nathaniel Oliver from Governor Josiah Winslow and others of Plymouth bears date, September 14, 1680, possession being given "by turf and twig," September 22, 1680. On the first day of September, 1681, seventy-seven persons were admitted to citizenship and all agreed to name the new town Bristol. The four original proprietors set apart an eight-acre lot, the Common,

for a meeting house, town house, and other public uses. Two acres were given to the town "for the encouragement and use of an able orthodox minister," meaning a minister of the then ruling order in New England, Puritan or Pilgrim Congregationalist. The Congregational meeting house and chapel now stand on that lot of land. The first house in Bristol was built in 1680 by Deacon Nathaniel Bosworth, the first deacon of the Congregational Church. The old house, with many additions, is standing near the North Town bridge and is known as the Perry house. At the first business meeting of the town, November 10, 1681, there was voted forty pounds towards the building of a house for the minister—proof most conclusive that Bristol was an orthodox Congregational town. The Selectmen were required "to take notice of all that should come into the government and to require an account of all who should neglect to attend public worship from supposed profanity or slothfulness," and with a constable could enter any house to discover if "any slothful did lurk at home or get together in companies to neglect the public worship of God or profane the Lord's Day." This was Congregational procedure as usually practised. In 1682 Nathaniel Oliver gave a bell to the town, which was hung on the top of the meeting house in 1692, and from the date of the gift to 1871 was rung at nine o'clock at night. In 1689 John Corps was chosen "grave-digger" and "Sweeper of the Meeting-house and Ringer of the Bell," and in 1692 Widow Corps was paid three pounds "for Ringing the Bell for Sabbath Days and Town Meetings and also Sweeping the Meeting-house" for one year. For a period of thirty-seven years, 1681-1718, one hundred and ten votes of the town related to the Congregational meeting house or minister. As in other Congregational towns at first, all matters relating to religious services were decided by the townspeople in town meeting; later, town meetings were held for the concurrence of the town in the action or desire of the church. Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge was the first minister at Bristol and was employed by the town for six years, during which time the first meeting house was built. His yearly salary did not exceed one hundred pounds. In 1684 a meeting house was built at a cost of two hundred and fifty pounds by the town on the Common, where the county court house stands, in the usual style of the Puritan meeting house of the period. Bristol was then, 1686, the most important town in Plymouth Colony and a learned and eloquent minister was found in Rev. Samuel Lee, who began his labors at Bristol, April 10, 1687. On the 3rd of May, 1687, "the Church of Christ in Bristol" was organized by Major John Walley, Captain Nathaniel Byfield, Captain Benjamin Church, Nathaniel Reynolds, Hugh Woodbury, Goodman Throop, John Cary and Nathaniel Bosworth—the last two were elected the first deacons.

Mr. Lee left Bristol in 1691 to return to England with his family, was made a prisoner by the French on his way and died in a French

prison. Cotton Mather calls him, "the light of both Englands;" President Stiles says, "He was the light and glory of the church in Bristol, and one of the most learned divines in Christendom." Allen says, "He spoke Latin with elegance, was a master of Physic and Chemistry, and well versed in all the liberal Arts and Sciences." He contributed a dozen volumes to the literature of his time and was the wealthiest citizen of Bristol, building on Thames street one of the finest mansions in New England.

In October, 1693, Rev. John Sparhawk became the minister of the town and church on a salary of seventy pounds a year, as "a single man and £80 by the year when he comes to keep a family." He died at Bristol, April 29, 1718, leaving a large church and congregation in grief.

His successor, in 1718, was Dr. James McSparran, the son of Scotch parents and born in County Derry, Ireland, at a salary of one hundred pounds. "Scandalous immoralities" soon gained currency, growing out of "unguarded conversation," and the Boston ministry refused to ordain him. The town and the church were divided in their opinions as to the wisdom of a settlement, and while matters were undecided Mr. McSparran returned to England, where in 1720 he joined the Episcopal church and was admitted to deacon's orders, then to the priesthood, and in October of the same year was commissioned as a missionary of "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," at Narragansett in New England, with authority to officiate at Bristol, Swansea and other places where there were members of the Church of England "destitute of a minister." The division of the people of Bristol over Mr. McSparran became bitter and drove a wedge of separation into a hitherto harmonious and united people. The result was the formation of St. Michael's Parish in 1721, towards which Mr. McSparran contributed his services and influence.

Rev. Nathaniel Cotton, great-grandson of Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, was elected pastor by the Bristol church, December 22, 1720, the town confirming the choice. He died in 1729, leaving the record of "a man of flaming zeal and undissembled piety, * * * and for the cause of Truth and Righteousness * * * bold as a lion." Rev. Barnabas Taylor was minister from 1729 to 1740, and was followed by Rev. John Burt from 1741 to 1775. From seventy-seven members the church grew to one hundred and forty-two members in full communion, and an added one hundred and eighteen under the halfway covenant, the latter membership being based on infant baptism and not on Christian experience. During his ministry the churches of Barrington, Warren, Bristol, Tiverton and Little Compton passed from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts to Rhode Island.

Little Compton Congregational Church has an interesting history. The town was incorporated in 1682, and one-thirty-second part of the

land was set apart in 1674 for "the exclusive use of the ministry." In 1685 the General Court of Plymouth ordered the neighborhood to raise fifteen pounds "for the encouragement of some one to preach the Word of God among them." Twelve years later, "in public town meeting," Eliphalet Adams was chosen the religious teacher of the town, September 7, 1697, continuing his labors until September, 1700. In November, 1700, Rev. Peter Thatcher, of Middleboro, and Rev. John Danforth, of Taunton, visit the town and baptize sixty-five persons. In 1701 Mr. John Clarke and Mr. Richard Billings are acting ministers, and in 1704, November 30, Mr. Billings was ordained and a church organized with ten male members—William Pabodie, Thomas Gray, William Pabodie, Jr., Joseph Blackman, James Bennett, Joseph Church, Jonathan Davenport, John Palmer, John Church and Sylvester Richmond. Plymouth family names appear in the new church, evidence of an awakening from the era of witchcraft and persecution of Quakers and Baptists to a new order in life and practise. It was the day of preparation for the great revival of 1720 and for the later services of Jonathan Edwards, Ezra Stiles and George Whitefield.

In 1723 the congregation built a meeting house forty-two feet long, thirty-eight feet wide and twenty-eight feet between joints. Religion flourished and men, women and *Indians* came into the church. During the Edwards revival seventy-five joined the church. Mr. Billings died in 1748, after a ministry of forty-seven years, during which time he had baptized seven hundred and twenty-eight persons, had received one hundred and ninety-eight into the church, and performed the holy rite of marriage to two hundred and forty-two couples, besides establishing an Indian mission in the remnant of the Sakonnet tribe.

Other results of Mr. Billings' work appeared in the organization of a Congregational church in the adjoining town, Tiverton, when on August 18, 1746, eight men and fifteen women are dismissed from this church to form a new church in the adjoining town, Tiverton.

Rev. Jonathan Ellis was for thirty-six years minister of the Little Compton church, 1749-1785. His successor was Rev. Mase Shepard, Rev. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, founder of Hopkinsianism, presiding at his ordination, September 19, 1787. The "refreshments" served on the occasion at the house of Captain George Simmons included "four gallons of rum, three gallons of wine, one gallon of brandy, one hundred and forty-five pounds of veal, twenty pounds of ham, twelve pounds of pork and fourteen pounds of beef." The General Assembly had authorized the Congregational society to raise six hundred pounds of the paper money of the Colony for the purpose of building a parsonage for the new minister. It is of special interest to note the moral standards of that time, less

than a century and half ago, when the religious teacher of the people was ordained midst the convivia of rum, wine and brandy," and lived in a house erected by the funds flowing from the ill-gotten gains of a lottery. Mr. Shepard was an able preacher and an admirable pastor, winning the love of the people "by his peculiar sociability, amiability and dignity." With Rev. Samuel Hopkins and Rev. William Patten, of Newport, he was a co-founder of the Rhode Island Missionary Society. During his ministry, Lemuel Sisson, of Newport, located his home at Sakonnet, wherein the first Methodist meeting was held in town about 1820 and preaching services held.

Prior to the organization of the Tiverton church in 1746, the people of the devout religious type had worshipped in their own homes or in the more public congregation at Compton Commons, bound as they were to the ancient Pilgrim town and church at Plymouth.

As to Congregationalism at Newport, evidence cumulatory has already been given of the primacy of the church of the Puritan Congregationalist. Rev. Dr. Daniel Goodwin, a credited historian and an Episcopalian, says, "It is claimed, indeed, with a considerable show of evidence, that there was an inchoate formation of a Puritan church on the Island of Aquidneck at the beginning of the settlement, not later than 1639." Callender, in 1738, declared that the people who settled Aquidneck from Boston "were Puritans of the highest form. * * * One of their first cares, both at Portsmouth and at Newport, was to build a Meeting House, which I suppose was designed for public worship. * * * Those who came away (from Boston) were most of them long esteemed as brethren of the church, and never censured by the church at all. * * * They depended on the assistance of Mr. Wheelwright, a famous congregational minister. * * * But he chose to go to Long Island. * * * In the meantime, Mr. John Clarke, who was a man of letters, carried on a public worship, etc." With such a beginning of an orthodox church, with a constituency, at the outset of the Puritan faith, it is reasonable to assume that a church was established, even if we have no records to establish the fact and no traditions exist relating to its history. In the light of all the historic evidence in our possession we are forced to conclude that a true Congregational church was organized at Newport in 1639, and another at Portsmouth in 1638, with Dr. John Clarke as the regular minister over both churches. These churches were free from all prelatical forms and seem to be the first churches organized in America on thoroughly modern principles of Congregational polity. And this was at a time when both the Pilgrims at Plymouth and the Puritans at Boston were holding to a state-church or to modified forms of prelacy, with a mixture of the spirit of intolerance, at least towards Baptists and Quakers.

Callender relates that "in 1695 several ministers of the Massachu-

setts Colony came and preached here to some who desired it. The next year there was a meeting house erected, in which the public worship of God was maintained by the Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Clapp. In 1720 there was a church in the Congregational scheme gathered, and he was ordained the pastor, and is still alive (1738), laboring in the word and doctrine. In 1728 there was another church formed out of this; the present pastor, the Rev. Mr. James Searing." This new church growth was from the seed planted on the Island in 1638. Mr. Clapp was of a Dorchester family of founders, a graduate of Harvard, who went to Newport, "by the advice of the minister of Boston." The story of his ministry at Newport, as it comes to us, reveals a singularly eccentric man in a singularly novel experience. His early zeal as a preacher added members to his church, but after three years he refused to administer the Holy Communion, on the ground that the church was impure and "not of sufficiently holy conversation for the ordinance," notwithstanding the fact that these members were converts of his own teachings and admitted to the church by his approval. He even refused his consent to their written request to be allowed sacramental privileges at other churches. A protest was made against his prelatical spirit and methods, to which he replied: "I came hither by the advice of the Rev. Minister of Boston; I have continued here by his advice; I have preached the Gospel here; as for you who are trying to drive me away, I would have you consider the awful account you will have to give for the damnation of the souls that will be lost for the want of my preaching." For unadulterated egotism, mingled with the temper of a Presbyterian synod and the authority of a canonical bishop, Mr. Clapp's treatment of his church presents a fine illustration. He certainly had strayed far from the Congregational fold and the church had forgotten some of the lessons of the Anne Hutchinson period of independency and the Congregational method of treating refractory ministers.

A colleague was proposed as a happy way of meeting the long felt desire of the people for a change, but Mr. Clapp refused to accept an assistant, and when one was admitted to the pulpit he refused to preach in it again, withdrew with some of his supporters and built a new meeting house, afterwards used by the Unitarians. One is at a loss to understand how a minister and his church could stand at cross purposes under Congregational polity, except on the ancient life-tenure and support of the orthodox clergy. Of one thing we are assured, that Mr. Clapp was held in high repute as a preacher and a citizen of the town and had a good following in his own church of faithful and well-to-do men and women.

Callender, in his "Century Sermon," says of Mr. Clapp: "The main stroke in his character was his eminent sanctity. * * * He was a public blessing as an able minister of the New Testament, an example of unspotted piety and an honor to religion." Bishop Berkely remarks: "Be-

fore I saw Father Clapp I thought the Bishop of Rome had the most aspect of any man I ever saw ; but really the minister of Newport had the most venerable appearance." George Whitefield wrote of Mr. Clapp that "his countenance was very heavenly" and that "he prayed most affectionately for a blessing on my coming to Rhode Island. * * * I could not but think I was sitting by one of the patriarchs." It was Mr. Clapp's habit to walk about the town in a black velvet cap and a gown with a girdle, the pocket on one side filled with books and the other filled with cakes, with which he purchased of the street boys their tops, as he thought spinning tops a sinful amusement. At his death a barrel full of tops was found in his house. After a ministry of fifty years, Mr. Clapp died at Newport, in 1745, at the age of seventy-nine—a Puritan of Puritans—an un-Congregational Congregationalist—his name and memory survive as a type of the founders of New England—a survivor of the class of Wilson, Endicott and Winthrop.

The two Congregational churches at Newport came into great prominence by reason of their pastors, Rev. Ezra Stiles and Rev. Samuel Hopkins, two of the learned and distinguished ministers of New England. Mr. Stiles, a graduate of Yale, was ordained as pastor of the Second Church in 1755, at the age of twenty-seven. His precocity is evident in the fact that he began the study of Latin at nine years of age and was fitted to enter college at twelve, but did not enter until he was fifteen, graduating in 1746 with the reputation of being the most accomplished scholar that had ever graduated. He accepted a tutorship at Yale and performed some brilliant experiments in electricity, said to have been the first in New England. He studied law and practised for two years, when he decided to enter the ministry. To his great abilities as a student of theology and preacher, were added scholarly studies along many lines of knowledge in matters social, literary, scientific and economical, all of which won for him the reputation of being the most learned man in America. His correspondence reached out to eminent men in all parts of the world ; the colleges of Edinburgh, Dartmouth and Princeton conferred the degrees of Doctor of Divinity and Doctor of Laws. In 1767 he began the study of Hebrew and in one month was able to read the whole of the Psalms. Dr. Stiles was invited to the presidency of Yale College in 1777 and held that office at his death in 1795. His administration brought prosperity to the institution and gave it the reputation for sound and varied learning. In the extent and variety of his learning, Dr. Ezra Stiles was the peer if not the superior of all men of his generation. He was eminent for piety, patriotism and philanthropy, was an eloquent preacher, and in the eulogy of Chancellor Kent, "was distinguished for the dignity of his deportment, the politeness of his address and the urbanity of his manners."

Rev. Samuel Hopkins, Connecticut-born and a graduate of Yale, as was Stiles, decided on the ministry for his life-work, and for two years was a student of theology under Rev. Jonathan Edwards, at that time the most profound theologian of his day. He was ordained at Great Barrington, Massachusetts, in 1743, and continued as pastor of the Congregational church there until 1769. In 1770 Mr. Hopkins was called to Newport and after preaching some time, a meeting of the church was called and it was voted not to invite him to settle there, as many were not in agreement with his doctrinal views. He made his plans to leave Newport and preached his farewell sermon, as he supposed. This sermon was so interesting and impressive that the minds and hearts of the people were changed in his favor, another vote was immediately taken and passed, almost unanimously, to settle him as their pastor and he consented to remain. During the occupation of Newport by the British and the meeting house by the troops, Mr. Hopkins withdrew to Massachusetts, returning to Newport in 1780 to find the meeting house half destroyed and his people scattered and impoverished. He resolved to share their hardships and continued his ministry until his death in 1803. He was an early advocate of the emancipation of negro slaves and set an example by freeing his own. He set on foot the movement to return liberated negroes to Africa. The agitation he started resulted in the law of 1774, forbidding the importation of negroes into the Colony, followed by the act of 1785, declaring all children of slave parents should be freeborn.

He was the author and expounder of a modified Calvinism, known as "Hopkinsianism," for the understanding of which his published works must be studied. He is said to have spent from fourteen to sixteen hours a day in his study, and was named for the presidency of Princeton College on the grounds of learning and theological acumen. Moses Brown, of Providence, was an intimate friend and admirer of Dr. Hopkins. His theological views were taught by his students, among whom were Dr. Samuel Spring, Dr. Nathaniel Emmons, Rev. Thomas Williams, Rev. W. E. Channing and the poet Whittier. He was the original of one of the principal characters in Mrs. Stowe's "Minister's Wooing." Newport was certainly a privileged community during the last half of the eighteenth century in the citizenship, and in the moral and intellectual life awakened by the teachings of the two learned ministers of the Congregational Puritan faith, Rev. Ezra Stiles and Rev. Samuel Hopkins.

The Congregational church at Kingston was a child of the First Church, Boston, as was the Congregational church at Newport. Governor Arnold states that "this church and that at Newport are the earliest churches of their order in Rhode Island." It is well known that the Pettaquamscutt Purchasers were members of the Boston church, while most of the pioneer settlers were from Newport, where Congregationalists and

Baptists, after 1644, held ecclesiastical control. As all these migrant peoples held religious leadings, churchwise, it is probable that the immigrants to the Narragansett lands were of both the Newport orders of faith—Baptist and Congregationalist—the Baptist being the stronger element. It is easy to see that a widely scattered people would find tremendous obstacles in their way in the establishment of a religious order, ceremonials and houses of worship in a wilderness land, while the faith and life were jealously cherished in the family and widely severed neighborhood circles in Narragansett. Roads there were none, bridges none; the woods were full of wild beasts and savages; log huts, with small clearings in the forests, were the homes, the forts, the school houses, the sanctuaries of South county for almost a century. The religious problem of the day was to get bread, clothing and protection for the family, and was widely separated from the dogmas of any church.

The Narragansett lands were an excellent missionary field in the closing years of the seventeenth century and hither came a Rev. Mr. Woodward from Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1695, to seek out the lost sheep of the orthodox fold, scattered in the Kingstown woods and clearings. He was succeeded by Henry Flint, and he, in 1702, by Samuel Niles, born on Block Island, a graduate of Harvard in 1699, the first student at Harvard from Rhode Island, who preached at Kingstown until 1710. In his latter years, Rev. Mr. Niles returned to Rhode Island and became pastor of a church in Charlestown, composed chiefly of Indians of the Niantic tribe. Among his descendants were Hon. Samuel Niles, of Braintree; Rev. Samuel Niles, of Abington, and Hon. Nathaniel Niles, born in South Kingstown in 1741—a judge, a member of United States Congress and the author of a popular Revolutionary song, "The American Hero." Rev. Samuel Niles was the author of several books, historical and theological—the best known a "History of the French and Indian Wars." While it is probable that a meeting house was built on Tower Hill before 1711, and that services were held in the interval between the ministries of Mr. Niles in 1710 and that of Rev. Josiah Torrey, about 1731, there are no records relating to either. Mr. Torrey was the son of Rev. Samuel Torrey, a fellow of Harvard College, of which the son was a graduate. On May 17, 1732, a church was organized at Tower Hill and Mr. Torrey was ordained its pastor, fulfilling most faithfully and acceptably the duties of his ministerial office until 1791—one of the longest New England pastorates.

An interesting and prolonged suit-at-law was carried on by the Kingstown church relative to some lands, the gift of the Pettaquamscutt purchasers, "as an encouragement * * * for an orthodox person, that shall be obtained to preach God's Word to the inhabitants." It seems the gift was made on June 4, 1668, but no conveyance was made, and in 1702, no

one claiming the land—three hundred acres—Henry Garder took twenty acres and James Bundy the remainder. In 1732 Rev. Mr. Torrey laid claim to the land, as the minister of the "orthodox" church. In 1720 Rev. Dr. McSparran, a missionary of the Church of England, took up his residence and the struggle for the benefits of the land was transferred to the English land courts, where, in 1732, Mr. Torrey was granted possession of two hundred and eighty acres. The contest did not end here, but it was claimed by the Episcopal church that as it was the first to organize a church in that section, it was entitled to the land. In 1752 the King and Council at London made a final decision that the gift was made by persons of the Puritan church of Boston for the support of an "orthodox" religious teacher, and that it rightfully belonged to the Congregational church in Kingstown, and was not intended for a church under the Episcopal form of government.

Congregationalists were slow in establishing a church of their faith at Providence. The reasons are obvious. Boston was the chief port of entry for New England, and the Congregational churches of Massachusetts welcomed all of that church order. Providence had the reputation of receiving believers and unbelievers alike, and a multiplicity of sects, repudiated by Plymouth and the Bay, found refuge here. It is well known that "orthodox" people had settled at Providence and had held meetings, more or less regular, at private houses, but Judge Staples relates, "In those days of enthusiasm and bigotry, great must have been the inducement which could have led any orthodox religionists to take up their abode in such a place, in point of religion, as Providence was represented and believed to be."

In 1720 the movement became public to establish a church and build a meeting house for Congregational worship, and a letter missive was sent to Hon. Joseph Jenckes, Jonathan Sprague and others, written by Rev. Peter Thatcher, a Congregational minister of Massachusetts, reciting the pious motives which inspired the movement and asking the countenance, encouragement and coöperation of a large group of persons named in the address. The reply, written by Rev. Jonathan Sprague, a Baptist minister at Providence, was caustic and contemptuous, expressing little of the spirit of toleration and none of Christian sympathy and welcome. Epithets such as these were flung at the incoming Congregationalists: "Flatterers," "serving their own belly," "language of Babel," "false prophets which daub with untempered mortar," "darkness itself," "your ministers, for the most part, were never set up by God, but have consecrated themselves;" "come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves;" "briars and thorns of the wilderness," etc., etc. Such an address from "eminent men in the town of Providence," written by a Baptist divine, must have made stout men quail before the religious cen-

sors of Roger Williams' town. Its spirit and language are quite in harmony with the welcome to Samuel Gorton, by Mr. Williams, a century earlier. Both are in sharp contrast with the traditional "*What Cheer*" of the savages in 1638. "Alas for the rarity of Christian charity under the sun."

Surprise arises not from the fact that a Congregational church was so late in its organization at Providence, but rather that there were enough brave men and women at that time to take such a step in the face of the spirit of bigotry and intolerance shown by the Sprague letter.

Dr. Hoyle, one of the original members of the church, had raised some money to build a meeting house in Providence in 1721, at the corner of Pawtuxet avenue and High street, but as the location was not approved by the majority in interest, a site was chosen at the southwest corner of Benefit and College streets, where a house of worship was built in 1723. In 1794 the Congregational society sold this house to the town of Providence for a town house and erected a larger and an elegant meeting house at the corner of Benevolent and Benefit streets, which was dedicated August 16, 1795. This house was built of wood, seventy-one by eighty-seven feet on the ground. The front was ornamented by two spires, adding, by their fine proportions, remarkable architectural beauty to the edifice, the whole being a copy of one of the most beautiful churches in Boston. Mr. Caleb Ormsbee was the architect. This house was destroyed by fire June 14, 1814, and the cornerstone of a larger and more elegant structure, with a single spire, was laid May 29, 1815, and the completed house dedicated October 31, of the same year. The architect of the present meeting house was Mr. John H. Greene, to whose genius and skill its architectural beauties are credited.

In 1724 Rev. Samuel Moody, a graduate of Harvard, preached in the new meeting house, attracting good audiences and baptizing sixteen persons who formed the nucleus of the church. The first settled minister was Rev. Josiah Cotton, a graduate of Harvard and brother of Rev. Nathaniel Cotton, of Bristol, both being grandsons of Rev. John Cotton, of Boston. The ordination of Mr. Cotton and the organization of the First Congregational Church of nine members took place on the same day, in the autumn of 1728. Eighteen Congregational churches of Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island were represented in the council by pastors and elders. About forty bandmen, mounted attendants upon the ministers, and a large number of candidates for the ministry, with a great concourse of visiting people from Congregational churches, near and far, made an occasion, "the like of which as to ministers and churches, this North America never saw."

Mr. Cotton's faithful but unfruitful ministry ended, at his own request, in 1747, and the pastoral office and work were continued by Rev.

John Bass from 1752 to 1758, by David S. Rowland to 1774, then followed the distinguished ministerial services of Rev. Enos Hitchcock, who gave literally of services and money for the social, moral and educational upbuilding of the town. Dr. Hall, a successor, said of him, "The character of his mind, the working of his heart, the creed of his life, might be written in a line: 'faith, hope and charity,' these three, but the greatest of these is charity." His successors in the pastorate were Rev. Henry Edes, of Boston, 1805-1832, and Rev. Edward B. Hall, 1832-1866. Dr. Hall was an able preacher, a wise pastor and an influential citizen, whose influence in church and town affairs was strong and healthful.

In 1770 "the Benevolent Congregational Society" was incorporated for raising and holding funds for the support of public worship—the first charter granted for such a purpose in Rhode Island.

The student of the religious history of New England of the first half of the eighteenth century will find a wide departure in faith and life from the Puritan standards. The ministers were preaching the covenant of good works—"damnable good works"—while the people had become despiritualized for want of a living faith. The idealism of the founders had degenerated into low standards of thought and life. The "Half-Way Covenant" had weakened orthodoxy almost to the breaking point. Intemperance and social evils were sapping the currents of physical and moral energy. The clergy saw and felt the evil of the day, but were blind leaders of the blind without vision and void of understanding as to spiritual uplift and enlightenment. Three men were providentially raised up to arouse a sleeping church from its long, deep lethargy—to utter a new note, to herald "the Great Awakening." Jonathan Edwards, of New England; George Whitefield and John Wesley, of Old England, were the trinity of voices, Boanerges-like, to arouse the people to the crowning need of that age and of all ages, the presence of the living God in the souls of men. Anne Hutchinson, at Boston, a century earlier, had tried to articulate the spiritual message, but her voice—the voice of a woman—fell on unwilling ears and creed-hardened hearts. The New England wilderness waited a crier and found him at Northampton, Massachusetts, where in 1735-36 Rev. Jonathan Edwards began his great work of preaching justification by faith, which was taken up by Whitefield and the Wesleys, bringing in the great reformation of the life and thought of a great body of the people of the American Colonies, so powerful was its influence as to be called "The Great Awakening."

Rhode Island came under the arousal of these spiritual forces and the First Church at Providence received the new message with divided interest, as did most of the Congregational churches of the neighborhood. Cotton, of Providence; Burt, of Bristol; Townsend, of Barrington; Greenwood and Turner, of Rehoboth, and White and Avery, of Norton,

entered their public protest against Whitefield's preaching, wherein he had declared that "many, nay most that preach, I fear, do not experimentally know Christ and the universities are become dark—darkness in the abstract." These ministers replied: "It appeareth to us that the Devil with all his cunning could not take a more direct step to overthrow these churches, hurt religion and the souls of men." The history of the great Edwards-Wesley-Whitefield revival shows that the fears of these good men were not justified, for, in fact, it was the great moral preparation for the multiplication of churches and the deliverance of multitudes of souls from the bonds of a low, material life; it proved to be also the energizing and unifying force that gave wisdom and courage for the years in which the struggle for our Colonial liberties was begun and carried to a successful issue. Every great civil revolution must have a broad and deep moral basis.

Mr. Cotton's church, at Providence, was deeply stirred by the new Gospel of Grace, "the doctrine of Personal Conversion and the need of a Christian Experience" as preached by the great evangelists of the day. One of these fervently pious men was Rev. Gilbert Tennent, a gifted Irish preacher, who awakened many souls to a new life on his visit at Providence in 1741. A majority of Mr. Cotton's church, judging their pastor "destitute of sound evangelical principles," withdrew from his pastoral care and began religious meetings in 1743—the first that were steadily attended and maintained on the west side of the river. The Seceders, made up of the most prominent people of the First Church, near fifty in number, started the new organization called the Beneficent Congregational Church and chose Joseph Snow, Jr., a lay brother, a house carpenter by trade, to be their pastor and teacher. The Separatists were suspended from Mr. Cotton's church, March 25, 1744, and soon after built a meeting house on a lot given them by Daniel Abbott, using timber cut upon the land by Pastor Snow and some of the brethren of the church. The original house was built of wood, and originally measured thirty-six by forty feet. Its spire, in 1772, was about one hundred feet in height. The bell, now in use, was imported from England in 1760. Under Mr. Snow the church and congregation outgrew the house of worship, thereby requiring additions to be made to it, to accommodate what was called "The Peoples' Church," "The New Light Church," and "Father Snow's Church." In 1771 the congregation numbered one hundred and forty families, the largest in town. The meeting house was also the largest, and the first three commencements of Rhode Island College were celebrated in it, before the First Baptist meeting house was built. Rev. George Whitefield, Bishop Asbury and many other noted ministers of the Gospel preached in the old house. In 1764, as the fruit of Whitefield's preaching, eighty-five were added to the church. In 1775 twenty-seven new members

were added. Nicholas Cooke, the War Governor of Rhode Island, was a member of the Beneficent Church. "Father Snow" continued "the beloved pastor of a united people" until 1793—a period of fifty years from 1743. During this time two hundred and eighty-three members were added to the Beneficent Church. Rev. James Wilson, a native of Ireland, became a colleague of Mr. Snow in 1791, and assumed the full pastorate in 1793, when "Father Snow" withdrew and formed a new religious society known as the Richmond Street Congregational Society. The present meeting house of the Beneficent Church was erected in 1809-10. Rev. Mr. Wilson, the pastor at that time, until 1839, was an eloquent preacher of the Wesleyan order, winning a large congregation to spiritual worship and large additions to the church. In the revival of 1804, one hundred and fifty joined the church and about eight hundred during his ministry of forty-six years. In 1820 the first Sunday school was organized in this church. Governor William Jones, one of the founders of the American Board for Foreign Missions, attended its services. A warm friendship existed between Rev. Mr. Wilson and Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, of the First Church, on Benefit street.

In 1772 a number of Congregationalists at East Greenwich petitioned the General Assembly for a lottery to raise \$1,500 to build a meeting house. The request was granted, the money raised and the house built, but there is no historic record of a church or religious services in that town until 1815, when Rev. Daniel Waldo preached and organized a church. Rev. Dr. Benedict, in his "History of the Baptists," published in 1813, states that there were eleven Congregational churches in Rhode Island, with about one thousand communicants. They included the churches at Seekonk, Barrington, Bristol, Tiverton, Little Compton, Newport two, Kingston, Providence two and East Greenwich.

Since 1800 the following Congregational churches have been organized in Rhode Island: Auburn, Swedish, 1895; Central Falls, 1845; Chepachet, 1846; Cranston (Franklin), 1873; Cranston, Edgewood, 1873; Crompton, Swedish, 1890; East Greenwich, Swedish, 1894; Riverside, 1881; United, 1889; Hope, 1904; Newport, Union, 1812; Pawtucket, First, 1829; Park Place, 1882; Smithfield Avenue, 1892; Darlington, 1908; Swedish, 1892; Peace Dales, 1857; Providence, Armenian Evangelical, 1892; Free Evangelical, 1843; Central, 1852; Peoples, 1912; Union, 1871; Plymouth, 1878; Academy Avenue, 1885; Free, Swedish, 1888; River Point, First, 1849; Saylesville, 1880; Slatersville, 1815; Thornton, 1889; Tiverton, B. F. C., 1915; Westerly, Pawcatuck, 1843; Wood River Junction, 1895; Woonsocket, 1834. The total membership of the Congregational churches in Rhode Island in 1917 was 9,802, in forty-one organizations. The earliest, the Newman Church, East Providence, founded in 1643, the latest in Tiverton, in 1915. The Sunday schools of the order

number 7,984 members; the families, 7,679; total number of ministers, 46; Young Peoples' societies, 30, with 1,316 members. The Rhode Conference of Congregational Churches held its one hundred and tenth annual meeting at Bristol, Rhode Island, May, 1917. A Congregational Club for social purposes has existed for several years.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The Protestant Episcopal Church has been for a century and more one of the most influential organizations in directing and moulding the religious and social life of New England, as well as the country at large. One would almost affirm that a conservative episcopacy was ill suited to the work of upbuilding democracy and democratic institutions on the ground of inflexible rules of church government, almost infallible dogmas and a prelatical ecclesiasticism. But the history of the religious life of New England for three centuries, more particularly of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, clearly witnesses the fact that the three great branches of episcopacy as an administrative order have been supporters of religious liberty and the principles of self-government as illustrated in majority rule. The Puritan church was only a branch of the English state-church and never formally separated from its communion. The leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on leaving England did not cast off the bonds of the church of their fathers and friends whom they left behind, as had the "Separatists" of Plymouth Colony, the Pilgrims. "We will not say," said Rev. Francis Higginson, the first minister of the Puritan church at Salem, on looking back at the receding English coast, "We will not say as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, 'Farewell Babylon, farewell Rome!' but we will say 'Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there.' * * * We go to practice the positive part of church reformation, and to propagate the Gospel in America." In the same ship that brought Endicott and Higginson, came two non-Puritan members of the Church of England, who for turbulent and seditious conduct were transported on the next ship to London, but those who remained to found the town of Salem were still amenable to the laws and doctrines of the Mother Church and held her history and traditions as a sacred legacy. In essentials of faith the Puritan and the Churchman were fully agreed. In dress, in ceremonials and in extravagances of worship they differed. In church and in ministerial support they agreed. They agreed also in the bishopric of the clergy and it is an open question whether Rev. John Wilson and his associates in the clerical order, in the Bay Colony, did not exercise as supreme authority in the discipline accorded to Anne Hutchinson as did the English clergy in the discipline of English heretics across the sea. If we accept the testimony of Rev. William Blackstone, the first Episcopal

clergyman to venture across the ocean to New England in 1628, "the Lord brethren of Boston" were no more to his liking than "the Lord bishops" of the home land, and he fled from the face of both into the wilderness. Even Samuel Gorton, the mystic philosopher of Rhode Island, in an address to Charles the Second, wrote: "I drew my tenets from the breasts of my mother, the Church of England." On the sailing of the *Arbella* and the associate fleet of ships that brought Governor John Winthrop, William Coddington, Isaac Johnson, Richard Saltonstall and a thousand more to Salem and Boston, Winthrop, for the whole Puritan migration, wrote and sent back a "Farewell Letter," addressed to "The Reverend Fathers and Brothers of the English Church," from which they were parting. In the literary annals of both Englands, no piece of literature can be found more tender, more noble, more spiritual. All these testimonies, and more than might be cited, indicate the close relationship of the Puritan Church in America and the Mother Church in England. Looking through and behind the nonessentials of the real current orthodoxy of the early years of the seventeenth century, we are assured of the essential unity of the two bodies, separated, in the main, by the Atlantic. Nor does it appear that a formal separation was ever officially debated or declared. Nor was the Puritan Church ever stricken from the rolls of the Episcopal Church of England. As was the English State clergy, the Puritan clergy was the educated class in New England early history. As such they not only expounded the Holy Scriptures, but they were the most capable judges of heresy, the greatest foe of Colonial life and virtue. The clergy also were experts in the English civil and criminal law and sat as judges in matters orthodox and heterodox. Men and women were sentenced to public whippings at the post and at carts-tails, to imprisonments, and to death on the gallows, by the advice and often by the verdict of the State-ordained clergy. The tragic death of the great chief Miantonomi was pronounced by the clerics of the Bay Colony, and he was slain by their advice and full consent.

The real cleavage began when the High Church Puritan partook of the spirit of persecution and aided in the martyrdom of Baptists and Quakers in the Bay Colony, in harmony with their accredited brethren across the sea, and when the Low Church party, saturated with the spirit of civil and religious freedom, and the doctrines of a more spiritual faith, broke from the ancient fold, into the freer ranges of democracy, in Congregationalism. Through the historic evolution of a century, the Presbyterian church became the lineal descendant of the Puritan, while the Congregationalists and Baptists, differing solely in the mode of baptism, but both essentially democratic, came into the larger areas of orthodox ser-

vice and worship, both parties, High and Low, turning their backs on their ancestral lineage.

The Episcopal church of England and America tolerates two classes of opinions—the Anglo-Catholic or High Church and the Low or Broad Church view. In both Episcopacy is regarded as essential to the church, but the Low Church adopts the view that while the Episcopate is desirable and necessary for the well-being of the church, it is no wise indispensable. The best authorities agree that the Episcopate developed out of the presbyterate and that there are only two orders in the New Testament,—presbyters and deacons. Bishop Lightfoot and Dean Stanley adopt this idea. In matters of systematic theology, Episcopal and non-Episcopal churches are in substantial agreement.

As already stated Rev. William Blackstone was the pioneer clergyman of the Church of England that set foot on Massachusetts and Rhode Island. He died in 1675, and a modest marble monument bearing a brief record of his life has been erected near the site of his home at Study Hill and his grave at its base. Fourteen years pass and, in 1689, the first wooden King's chapel was built in Boston; a year later, 1690, a movement began for Christ church, Stratford, Connecticut; in 1695, Christ Church, Philadelphia, built the first edifice for Episcopal worship in Pennsylvania; and the organization of Trinity, New York, began in 1696, under the influence of Sir Francis Nicholson, "the original founder and first patron of Trinity Church."

Mr. Nicholson was a devout Churchman, and visiting Newport, at that time a more important metropolis than New York, was surprised to find that there was no gathering for worship according to the forms of the English church. Among those who gladly enlisted in the movement for founding a church were Gabriel Bernon and Dr. Pierre Ayrault, Huguenot refugees, William Brinley, and Robert Gardner, a naval officer and collector of the Port, whose gravestone in Trinity churchyard bears the words, "One of the first promoters of the Church in this place." Rev. John Lockyer was the first clergyman who was secured to establish a church and erect a house for worship, both of which he did during the brief period of his rectorate, three or four years. The first meeting house stood on the lot of the present Trinity and was called "handsome."

Rev. Dr. Daniel Goodwin, in his historical review of the Episcopal church in Rhode Island ascribes the honor of founding "old Trinity," Newport, to the Rev. James Honeyman, the first missionary to the Rhode Island Colony, sent out by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," and the real founder of the Episcopal church in the United Colonies. Mr. Honeyman began his remarkable work in 1704, at Newport, and at his death, in 1750, fifteen hundred and seventy-nine per-

sons had been baptized in Trinity parish, most of the baptisms the result of his labors. The rector of Trinity was popular in all Newport circles, as well as a devoted churchman, and he not only had the respect and love of all the people, but he won to his church membership, members from the Quaker, Baptist and Congregational communions. A larger church building was soon needed and in 1725, the present Trinity Church was built. The quaint interior, the lofty pulpit, the sounding board, the reading and clerk's desk, remain to illustrate the taste and styles of architecture of the early day. The bell was the gift of Queen Anne. As illustrating his hospitable and opportunist spirit it is related of Mr. Honeyman that a messenger from Block Island brought the news that Bishop George Berkeley was on his way to Newport. It was a holy day and the rector was in the midst of the church services when the letter was delivered. After reading and learning its contents, he read it to his congregation, and closing the services, he placed himself at the head of the procession to march to the wharf to welcome the Bishop and his family. Mr. Honeyman allied himself with educational reforms and social progress and was with Dean Berkeley and other eminent men at Newport, one of the founders of the Newport Literary and Philosophical Society, one of the first in our country. The Episcopal church and parish won a first rank in the country, so much so, that Mr. Honeyman wrote to the English Society: "Betwixt New York and Boston, there is not a congregation in the way of the Church of England, that can pretend to compare with mine or equal it in any respect."

The Malbones, Wantons, Cranstons, Brentons, Coddingtons, Bulls, Ellerys, Kays, Vernons and other historical families of Newport worshipped in "Old Trinity," and most of the eminent clergy of all orders have preached from its pulpit, led by Bishop Berkeley. Mr. Honeyman died in 1750. Mr. Honeyman's successor was Rev. James Leaming, who later was chosen as Bishop of the Episcopal churches of Connecticut. The Revolutionary period was disastrous to the fruitful operation of the Episcopal churches of Rhode Island and especially to Trinity parish at Newport, and the condition of all at the close of that war was pitiable. Trinity was for years without a rector, the church property dilapidated, the people without heart or hope, party strife in the parish and the edifice occupied by the Six Principle Baptists. The Episcopal church at Narragansett was used as barracks for the American soldiers and for twelve years was unused for worship.

St. Michael's, Bristol, was in ashes. King's (St. John's) Church, Providence, had dismissed a disloyal rector, Rev. John Graves, because he insisted on offering prayers for King George III. Dr. Goodwin re-

marks: "To the human eye, the Episcopal church in Rhode Island seemed ready to die."

St. Paul's at Narragansett was in point of time the second Church of England established in Rhode Island. The Smiths at Wickford were churchmen and Rev. William Blackstone had held monthly preaching services at the Smith garrison house, until his death in 1675. The Updike and Gardner families were also among the pioneers of the church movement. In 1702, the English Church Missionary Society declared that a missionary should be sent at once to the Narragansett Country, but it was in 1706, that Rev. Christopher Bridge, an assistant at King's Chapel, Boston, came to Narragansett, and by him St. Paul's Church was built in Kingstown, afterwards removed to the village of Wickford, in 1800, and in its thoroughly renovated form, church services are now regularly held. In 1721 the new church enterprise came under the rectorship of Rev. James McSparran, who, in 1718, had been refused ordination as minister of the Congregational church at Bristol, Rhode Island. Dr. Goodwin says, "He proved a devoted and well-learned parish priest, beloved, respected and honored, dwelling among his flock for thirty-six years, until he was called hence after what he styled 'labors and toils inexpressible.'" At one time his parish included Bristol, Swansea, Freetown and Little Compton. In his book (1753), "America Dissected," he *dissects* Rhode Island secular and religious concerns with the calm ferocity of an ancient butcher-man and the genial wit of a modern Punch. Taken as written, the book is a genial historical criticism by a master of gentle satire; "his bark is worse than his bite." A touch is seen in "The Rhode Islanders are the only people on earth who have hit on the art of enriching themselves by running in debt," and "The Lord, in mercy to us, should dispose the sovereign power to vacate our patent and prevent our own destruction by taking us out of our own hands."

Dr. MacSparran's parish included the Narragansett Purchase, twenty miles broad and twenty-five miles long. He often officiated at Conanicut, Westerly, and Old Warwick in the Coweset church, the old Trinity house of worship having been removed, in 1726, to the Warwick shore. The Episcopal congregations were large and included many of the wealthy and educated land aristocracy of southern Rhode Island. Among them were Gabriel Bernon, formerly of Newport, George Balfour, Col. Daniel Updike, Attorney General of the Colony, Col. Francis Willett, grandson of Hon. Thomas Willett of Wannamoisett, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, Moses Lippett and Judge John Cole. The painter, Gilbert Stuart, was born in his parish and baptized by him. The historian says of the people, the Narragansett planters, of his parish: "They were exceptionally cultured, well-to-do, hospitable to a proverb, proud of their pastor, loyal to the

church and secure in the conviction that to be a *Narragansett Planter*, with large estates and troops of slaves, was a sufficient patent of aristocracy." Of the rector he states: "Over those within this tract (Narragansett), acknowledging the authority of the Church of England—that is the majority of the people of substance and standing,—Dr. MacSparran ruled with a firm if gentle hand, striving with faithful zeal and large ability, to gather the whole body of the sheep into the safe fold."

Rev. Samuel Fayerweather, a staunch loyalist, succeeded to the rectorship in 1760, was suspended as a Tory in 1774, dying in 1781. The bodies of both rectors were buried under the communion table of St. Paul's, where a granite cross now marks their graves.

St. Michael's Church, Bristol, was the third Episcopal parish created in the State, though the town was then a part of Massachusetts Colony. Movements prior to 1720 led the Bishops of London to send a minister, Rev. John Orem to Bristol, in 1721, where he found a small body of churchmen and a meeting house in course of erection. About this time, twelve men were imprisoned for refusing to pay toward the support of the Congregational ministers of the town.

Mr. Orem was followed, in 1723, by Rev. John Usher, a graduate of Harvard College. He was splendidly qualified for pioneer work and his tireless labor founded a vigorous church and won the friendship of the Puritan church of Bristol, and the two churches became self-supporting. After a ministry of fifty-two years, Mr. Usher closed his life labors, April 30, 1775. During his rectorship, he had baptized seven hundred and thirteen persons, attended two hundred and seventy-four funerals and married one hundred and eighty-five couples. In 1778, the church edifice was burned by the British and the parish seemed almost extinguished. The opening years of the nineteenth century witnessed a revival of Episcopal interest in Rhode Island, recovering from the disloyalty of priests and people during the Revolutionary War. In 1834, during the ministry of Rev. John Bristed at Bristol, a Gothic church of wood was built, and an unusual spiritual awakening occurred, adding one hundred to the membership. The Church's edifice was burned in 1838, and the present structure of brown stone was erected. Rev. George L. Locke, the present rector, has fulfilled faithful ministerial labors at St. Michael's for more than fifty years. The parish has contributed three bishops to the American churches, the Rev. James DeWolf Perry, Jr., D. D., Bishop of Rhode Island, being one.

St. John's Church, Providence, was the last of the four Colonial parishes of Rhode Island and was founded in 1722. Rector Honeyman, who had preached at Providence, reported to the English Society "the want of

a missionary at a town called Providence," where, through want of instruction, the people were become quite rude and void of all knowledge in religion, yet they were of a good and teachable disposition." Still more, Mr. Honeyman reported that he had preached in Providence, "to the greatest number of people he had ever had together since he came to America; no house being able to hold them, he was obliged to preach in the fields." Gabriel Bernon, whom we have met at Newport and at Narragansett, had at this time taken up his residence in Providence, and in it was a most devoted churchman and who asked for "our town of Providence one learned minister of good condition—an *Old England* gentleman minister." The people, led by Mr. Bernon raised £770 and on St. Barnabas Day, June 11, 1722, began to build a small edifice, with low belfry and round-headed windows, which stood for eighty-eight years, until the erection of the fine stone structure, on the site of the old, in 1800. Rev. George Pigot, a former schoolmaster at Newport, came to Providence as rector of King's (St. John's) Church, in 1723, remaining here four years. Rev. John Checkley, born in Boston, 1680, was one of the most distinguished rectors of this church from 1739 to 1754. He was an expert scholar of the Indian language and a noted controversialist. President William Allen called him "a wit, a classical scholar, skilful also in Hebrew and in Narragansett Indian. * * * More remarkable for eccentricities of his temper and conduct than for piety and learning," while Mr. Updike says of him, "Peace to thine ashes, untiring servant of Christ and the Church. The faith which sustained thee teaches us that ample amends will soon be made for all earth's forgetfulness."

Rev. Nathan B. Crocker, D. D., in the service of St. John's Church from 1802, till his death in 1865, was one of the most noted divines of New England and at the date of his death the oldest presbyter in the United States. His long and valued years of labor at St. John's in the city and State at large and as a fellow and secretary of the Corporation of Brown University from 1808 to 1865, entitled him to the first place in the Rhode Island clergy of all denominations.

St. Paul's at Pawtucket was organized through the agency of Samuel Slater, Samuel Greene and David and Edward L. Wilkinson. In 1816, Rev. John L. Blake was rector and there were twenty communicants. In 1822, Rev. Dr. George Taft became rector and by efficient service built up a strong church.

At Tower Hill, a church was organized under Lemuel Burge as rector, but was in 1840 merged in that at Wakefield,—the Church of the Ascension.

For a half century, following the American Revolution, the Episcopal churches in Rhode Island carried on a sharp struggle for existence. For

a period of one hundred and seven years from 1722 to 1829, only one parish now living was established. In 1829, St. Michael's, Bristol, had 162 members; St. John's, Providence, 160; Trinity, Newport, 123; St. Paul's, Pawtucket, 75, and St. Paul's, Wickford, 43,—a total of 563.

Grace Church, Providence, the largest and most influential parish in the Rhode Island Diocese, dates from 1829. Its first rector was Rev. Samuel Fuller, Jr., with 42 communicants. Rev. John A. Clark, the founder of prosperity, both temporal and spiritual, added 200 before his retirement in 1835. Mr. Clark's ministry was an event of memorable value to the parish. He was followed by Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, a man of deep piety and fervid speech, and he by Bishop Henshaw, who ministered with great ability in all departments of church work. Mr. Henshaw was succeeded by Bishop Thomas M. Clark, who elevated the church to a very high place in city and State and raised the membership from 330 to 480. Dr. Clark was made Bishop in 1867, and thenceforward to the end of a long and noble life devoted himself to the larger field of the Diocese. Bishop Clark won the high regard of all other denominations, as well as his own, by a gracious spirit and a generous and hospitable love for service in all departments of work.

St. Mark's Church, Warren, was founded in 1829, Rev. George W. Hathaway being the first rector from 1829 to 1851, when there were 140 communicants.

In the Convention of 1832, three new parishes were added,—St. Paul's, South Kingstown, Trinity Church, Pawtucket, and St. James, Smithfield (now Woonsocket). The first rector of St. James was Rev. Joseph M. Brown, who was followed by Rev. Henry Waterman. This church has now over 500 members.

St. Luke's, East Greenwich, dates from 1833. Rev. Silas A. Crane was the rector from 1841 to 1872, giving to the people a high spiritual order of service.

Christ Church, Lonsdale, was founded in 1833, by Rev. James W. Cooke. This parish is now one of the most important in the Diocese.

Christ Church, Westerly, was organized in 1834. This parish occupies a prominent position in the religious life of that part of Rhode Island and from 1844 to 1858 was under the able rectorate of Rev. Thomas H. Vail, the first Bishop of Kansas.

St. Stephen's, Providence, came into being in 1839, under Rev. Francis Vinton, brother of the rector of Grace Church. His successor was Rev. Henry Waterman, rector from 1841 to 1874, except five years of absence. During Mr. Waterman's service the spacious stone church on George street was built.

All Saints' Memorial, Providence, was started in 1847, and achieved

its prominence through the rectorship of Rev. Daniel Henshaw. This parish was the first to introduce the boy choir, in 1858. The Gothic Church edifice, corner of High and Stewart streets, is a monument to the men and women who have led consecrated lives in this parish.

The Church of the Messiah and the Church of the Redeemer, are the latest of the Providence Episcopal parishes, the former was founded by the self-sacrificing labors of the Rev. Benjamin B. Babbitt and continued by the remarkable work among the poor by Rev. Thomas H. Cocroft. The latter, organized in 1859, under the rectorship of Rev. Charles H. Wheeler, is distinguished as the first free Episcopal church in Providence.

The chapter of New England history which deals with the introduction of the Church of England into the religious life of the people of Puritan faith is both interesting and instructive. Plymouth Colony had been founded sixty years and Massachusetts Bay fifty years before the introduction of the English mother church was urged, in the first instance by officers of the Crown. The Puritan idea was to make a State Church of freemen. The Court idea of Charles II was to reduce the Puritan power and give the English church the position it held in the home-land. When in 1686, Sir Edmund Andros demanded the opening of Puritan meeting houses for Church of England worship and worshippers, he was refused by the Puritan clergy on the ground that they could not "with a good conscience consent yt our Meeting House should be made use of for common prayer worship." In the debate that followed, soft words were not used by either side and a deadly strife was on between the two opposing forces. In time both won, for, in 1689, King's Chapel was opened at Boston, and already at Newport and at New York, Episcopal laymen began to discuss the founding of parishes at these two centers, but this did not happen until the advent of the third generation of Puritan founders, who had come to recognize the doctrine of conscience liberty to Baptists, Quakers, and now to the ecclesiasticism which they had left behind them in England.

But the advent of a few devout Churchmen in our Rhode Island Colony which from the first opened wide doors to all religious believers, was not a matter of great significance, until re-enforced by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." This society planted and nourished the pioneer Episcopal churches of our own and neighbor Colonies. Thirteen missionaries were sent to the four Rhode Island parishes during the Colonial period and their support assured. St. John's, Providence, received about \$20,000 and \$100,000 were con-

tributed to carry on the church work. Without its aid, there is great doubt of the continued life of the parishes established.

The Anglican church, in its New England genesis, was made up of the immediate immigration of middle class families, who found, at the close of the seventeenth century, a state of society and of religious liberty more in accord with their desires than the conditions they left in England. All belonged to the liberal or Low Church party, except the Crown officers, who assumed a characteristic lordship over the various worshipping assemblies. It is worthy of note that southern Rhode Island, in its larger freedom of worship, its intellectual supremacy, and its financial ability, invited and welcomed Quakers, Baptists, Jews and Churchmen, especially at Newport and Narragansett.

The Revolutionary War was a severe test of the loyalty of the members of the Anglican church in Rhode Island. A double tie bound them to England,—the Anglican church and the English Civil State,—to both of which the Episcopal church had sworn allegiance. It is not strange that the clergy and a large portion of the laity should have won the title of Tories, in a rebellion, the issue of which seemed to patriotic English people most uncertain, probably fruitless, except in sacrifice to a lost cause. An Episcopate in Church and a Monarchy in State were congenial companions for an ideal state. Democracy, so far as realized, was the vision and half-reality of the few, but not the real possession of the many. Independency had launched its bark on this uncertain sea of freedom a century and a half ago, but Dependency preferred the safe harborage of its homeland coast. Rhode Island Episcopacy found its spiritual wreckage in the inactivity and disloyalty of its harbored protection.

The revival of Episcopacy in Rhode Island followed the full establishment of Federalism and the passing from the stage of the Revolutionary generation. The religious revivals of the early years of the nineteenth century united the people by new spiritual ties, while the birth of the free public school in Rhode Island, and the educational awakening in all the young States gave Democracy a new and more progressive life. At this time we find the Episcopal church of Rhode Island awakened to a higher sense of its true meaning and its spiritual opportunity. Its leaders were all American born, inspired by the new spirit of liberty, and in no way dependent on a foreign hierarchy. It cannot be said that the independent denominations heartily welcomed the uprising of the Episcopal spirit and services, even so late as a century ago. Prejudice, suspicion, hatred of things of English birth and bearing English names, as the Anglican Church, were met in the spirit of missionary martyrdom and at the entry of the era of the American Civil War, Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, Dissenter and Churchman, in Rhode Island,

knelt at one altar, joined hands in Christian brotherhood, "forgetting the things that were behind."

The following official statements show the status of the Protestant Episcopal church of Rhode Island, on May 1, 1917: Parishes and missions, 80; one bishop; 90 clergy; 6 deaconesses; 49 lay readers; 20,185 communicants; 1167 teachers and 9797 pupils in Sunday schools; 1178 persons baptized; 910 confirmed; 591 marriages; 1087 burials; contributions for all purposes, \$365,352.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

This vigorous, constructive and progressive body of Christians came into active denominational work in New England and Rhode Island in 1789, when Jesse Lee, an itinerant preacher, born in Virginia in 1758, came to pioneer a lively campaign in the East and to set up the banners of a living gospel of faith and work. On Thursday, the 3rd of September, 1789, this fiery zealot arrived in Charlestown, Rhode Island, and preached the first Methodist sermon ever delivered in the State. It is said that both John and Charles Wesley, the founders of the sect, preached in Newport. Mr. Lee spent six years in New England and preached in all the large towns of our State. At the end of two years, fifteen Methodist churches had been organized.

The Methodist church in Bristol was the first of the order in this State and the second in New England, the church at Lynn claiming priority. When Rev. Jesse Lee was on his way to Boston from Newport in 1790, he passed through Bristol, where he was held up on his journey by one Captain Daniel Gladding, who urged his stopping at Bristol to preach. In 1791 Mr. Lee came again to Bristol, formed a class of sixteen and organized a church of eighteen members. In 1805 a plain meeting house was built on the Commons, which was used until 1856, when the present large and beautiful house of worship was dedicated. In 1880 this church had 327 members, and is still one of the most active and efficient churches of the Methodist order in Rhode Island. The revival of 1800 added one hundred members, and that of 1820 more than two hundred.

The church in Warren was formed under the inspiration of Rev. Mr. Lee, at about the same time as that of Bristol. In 1794 Jesse Lee aided in the dedication of the first Methodist meeting house, in the State, at Warren, and the third in New England. In 1800 this church had 123 members. It has a large house of worship, but the audiences are now much reduced owing to a great change in the population of Warren.

East Greenwich has the honor of the third Methodist church in the State, dating from 1797. In 1831 the church built its first house of worship, having used the county court house up to that date. The East Green-

wich Conference Seminary has furnished an audience and lay and clerical talent in the work of the church.

Rev. Mr. Lee's efficient and thorough work prior to 1800 appears in churches organized at Portsmouth, Phenix, Wickford, Newport, Providence and Arnold's Mills, the result of the first preachers and preaching in the State, resulting in ten churches before 1800, with a membership of several hundred earnest men and women. Chestnut Street Methodist Church, Providence, the first in this town, has been one of the strong centres of work and influence, and the mother of many other churches.

Among the founders and early workers may be named Jesse Lee, Joshua Hall, Reuben Hubbard, Van R. Osborn, Lemuel Smith, Bishop Asbury, Lorenzo Dow, General Christopher Lippitt, John Chalmers, Zadok Priest, William Cone, Bishop Coke, Isaac Bonney, Joseph Snelling, Asa Kent. Wherever these apostles of a new and lively gospel preached, revivals followed, converts were made, and churches established. Not only did these preachers win souls to a new and high consecration in spirit and work, but they also awakened other denominations of Christians to more active services. Their call was a mighty clarion to a new consecration to Christ, on the part of all men, everywhere, and the call was heeded and a wonderful response followed.

The Little Compton Methodist Church dates from 1820, when Mr. Lemuel Sisson and family became the nucleus about which the church was shaped.

Pawtucket First Church dates from 1822, its first minister being Rev. O. Robbins.

The Hope Street Church, Providence, was organized in 1834, first known as Power Street Methodist Episcopal Church.

The Woonsocket Church began to have regular preachers the same year.

Grace Church, Westerly, dates its first leadings to the preaching of Jesse Lee in 1789, but it was not organized until 1847.

The Mathewson Street Church, Providence, was constituted of members from Chestnut and Power Street churches, and had for its first preacher in 1848 Rev. Robert Allyn, principal of the Conference Seminary. Its central location, the activity of its membership and the extraordinary ability of its preachers have made it one of the two leading Methodist churches in the State.

The Trinity Union Methodist, Providence, was organized in 1859, through the able preaching of Rev. Dr. McKeown, with Rev. William McDonald as first pastor. In 1898 the Chestnut Street Church united with Trinity, on Trinity Square. This church is now very prosperous, has a well appointed church building, with all modern equipments for Sunday

school and church activities, and, with the Mathewson Street, is a leader of the State churches of that order.

There are six African Methodist churches in the State, with two at Providence and one at Newport. The total membership exceeds six hundred, with Sunday schools and other modern church activities.

The Methodist church in Rhode Island is active in home and foreign work, in temperance, in all moral reforms, in all social and civil progress, always strenuously advocating human rights as the birthright of Sons of God. Women are recognized as co-workers on all plans of human activity.

OTHER DENOMINATIONS.

There are three Unitarian churches in the State. The First Congregational, Providence, Rev. A. M. Lord, D. D., pastor, was formed in 1723-24 by the Congregational people of the town, who built a meeting house at the corner of Benefit and College streets in 1724. In the early years of the nineteenth century the major part of the church adopted the Unitarian faith.

The Westminster Unitarian Church, on the West Side, ministers to a large and intelligent congregation.

The Newport Unitarian Church is a charming memorial to Rev. William Ellery Channing, the founder of Unitarianism, who was born in Newport.

The Universalists began missionary work in the State about 1820, in the preaching of Hosea Ballou and others. In 1821 a society was formed, and a chapel for worship was built on the corner of Westminster and Union streets. The chapel was burned in 1825, and a handsome meeting house was built on land now occupied by the "Boston Store." Rev. David Pickering was the first pastor. In 1872 the church built a new and finer house of worship on Greene, at a cost of \$130,000. Among its ministers have been Rev. E. H. Capan, D. D., later president of Tufts College, and Rev. H. I. Cushman, D. D.

The second Universalist Church in the State was organized in Pawtucket, in 1827. The third was founded at Woonsocket prior to 1840, and is now the largest and most prosperous in the State. The fourth was the present Church of the Mediator on Cranston street, the house of worship being erected in 1869. The church celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1899.

The chief educational institutions of this church are Dean Academy at Franklin, Massachusetts, and Tufts College, near Boston. Both are well-endowed and flourishing schools of learning.

Among the pastors and preachers of eminence, other than those before named, were Rev. Henry W. Rugg, W. C. Selleck, James S. Cook,



ST. PETER'S AND ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
Cathedral Square

Charles J. White, Massena Goodrich, E. L. Houghton, Stephen Cutler, J. N. Parker, John Murray and Thomas Whittemore.

The great work of the Universalist denomination has been to liberalize all other existing faiths. While the first advocates were treated with great severity by the orthodox faiths, a gradual but fundamental change has taken place in beliefs and preaching. To such an extent has this evolution of a new faith proceeded that the preaching, teaching and practice of all the leading churches of America are mainly in full harmony with those of the denomination that was so vigorously attacked in its early history—a century ago. The Universalists have extinguished the fires of a literal hell and have lit the lamp of hope in millions of human souls.

The Presbyterian church of Rhode Island holds fast to the leading articles of the Scotch faith and worship—the two branches dividing on non-essentials, which are in process of speedy dissolution. There are eleven organized churches in the State, with a membership, expurgated, of about two thousand, with an equal Sunday school enrolment. The local churches are well administered and the Bible is still the text-book of faith and practice. Local and foreign missionary work is well sustained.

The Quakers, or Friends, have been treated in another chapter. Sabbath services are held at Providence, Slatersville, Newport and other towns.

The disciples of Swedenborg meet for converse and worship at Trinity Square, Providence.

The Christadelphians hold two Sabbath services in Providence.

The Church of Latter Day Saints holds a session at Palestine Hall every Sunday.

The German Lutherans have a church in the city.

The Pentecostal Nazarene Church has three congregations of worshippers in Providence each Sunday.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

There is probably no section of the United States in which the Catholic church made greater progress during the latter half of the nineteenth century than in the State of Rhode Island. From the day when the Rt. Rev. William Tyler took up his residence in Providence on March 17, 1844, up to the present time, this church has shown a constant growth and a continuous strengthening and multiplying of her religious, educational and charitable institutions. The first organized Catholic parishes were composed principally of the Irish immigrants who came here in great numbers in the decade of years after 1848. There were poor in this world's goods, but strong in their faith and devoted to their religion. They were a valuable asset in developing the resources of the community,

and by their willingness to perform faithfully whatever tasks came to hand they made their way and soon became an influential and respected element in the population. The most hopeful among them could not imagine the extent to which their church would have grown in the space of two and one-half generations. Within three-quarters of a century the Catholic church, from being tolerated faith, has become a dominant influence for good in every department of Rhode Island's activities. The members of this church have overspread every section of the State, have won their way fairly and decisively to positions of honor, trust and responsibility in professional and business careers, and have proved to demonstration that their creed is no bar to progress, but is rather one of the most potent forces for the welfare of the State as well as for the individual. There is now hardly any part of this commonwealth in which a compact Catholic parish has not been erected and it is taken as the order of the day that the church should be, and is among the most notable structures in whatever city or town it raises its spires towards heaven.

The legendary history of the Catholic church in this State goes back to the time when Rhode Island was known as Vineland, and when the Norsemen were supposed to have paid their visits to the present site of Newport in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Evidence, however, is lacking to show conclusively that this section was a part of the diocese of Gardar in Greenland, and the assertion sometimes made that the old Stone Mill at Newport might have been a baptistry is nothing more than an unfounded conjecture. The first historical knowledge of the presence of Catholics here was during the Revolutionary War, when French troops came to Newport in 1778. The State House there was used as a chapel, and Mass was celebrated by the chaplains who accompanied Count D'Estaing and his forces to the then American Colonies. As early as 1811 the Rev. Dr. Matignon, an exile French missionary, and the Rt. Rev. John De Cheverus, the first Bishop of Boston, made periodic visits to Bristol and Newport for the purpose of celebrating Mass, instructing the people and administering Sacraments. After 1813 Providence was included in the itinerary of priests from Boston, and Mass was occasionally celebrated in a school house on Sheldon street, and more frequently in private houses. In 1827 the Catholics of the city had become numerous enough to request Bishop Fenwick of Boston to send them a priest, and the Rev. Dr. Woodley was appointed the first pastor of Rhode Island and Connecticut, with all the territory of these two States assigned to him as his particular charge. On April 14, 1828, Bishop Fenwick himself celebrated Mass in Mechanics' Hall, for a congregation of 500, preached a sermon, and administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to a class of five persons. In the same year Fr. Woodley established a church in Newport, at a school house on Barney street, which claimed the distinction of being the first

Catholic church in the State, though the first structure erected by the adherents to Catholicity for religious service was in Pawtucket in the following year.

On the 30th of August, 1828, Bishop Cheverus received from David Wilkinson, of Pawtucket, the deed of a donation of land one hundred and twenty-five feet square, "for the benefit of the Roman Catholics settled in the neighborhood, and to have a church erected upon it." The Bishop of Boston included the town in the route of his episcopal visitations, and on June 6, 1823, there is a record of five baptisms administered by him to children in Pawtucket. In 1829 he sent Father Woodley to the place with instructions to build a church. The church was completed in November of the same year. After remaining in charge for the next two years, Father Woodley withdrew and left New England for Georgetown College in the District of Columbia.

Pawtucket was then visited by priests from Providence, and among these were Rev. John Corry and the Rev. Peter Connolly. The latter took up his residence in the neighborhood and directed the parish affairs until 1834. Rev. Constantine Lee, who lived at this time midway between Providence and Pawtucket, officiated occasionally in St. Mary's. In 1836 the number of Catholics appears to have increased, since the Bishop gave Confirmation to forty-seven on the occasion of one of his visits. Father Lee had received from him a rather scattered charge, since both Newport and Pawtucket were assigned to his pastoral care. The shepherd of these widely separated flocks left in 1839, and the Rev. James O'Reilly became his successor and remained until 1841. St. Mary's then fell under the jurisdiction of the Rev. William Fennelly, the first pastor of St. Patrick's in this city. The Rev. Denis Ryan substituted for him for a few months, and when Father Wiley became pastor of St. Patrick's in 1842, the Rev. William Ivers from Halifax, Nova Scotia, was sent to look after the spiritual welfare of the congregations in Pawtucket and Woonsocket. After a space of two years, Father Ivers went to Ireland. At the same time Father Fitton was assigned to the whole of Rhode Island as his parish with the exception of the city of Providence. When Bishop Tyler came, he transferred Father Fitton to Newport and the Rev. Joseph McNamee went to St. Mary's, where he remained until 1853. The influx of Irish immigrants gave an impetus to the growth of Catholicity in the Blackstone Valley, and when Father Delaney came an addition was made to the church and a congregation numbering 2600 was soon gathered around the mother church of all that section.

That there were Catholics in Providence in 1789 is shown by the following from the *Providence Gazette* of December 12, of that year: "Tuesday last, being the Festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Rev. Abbe de la Poterie, French Roman Catho-

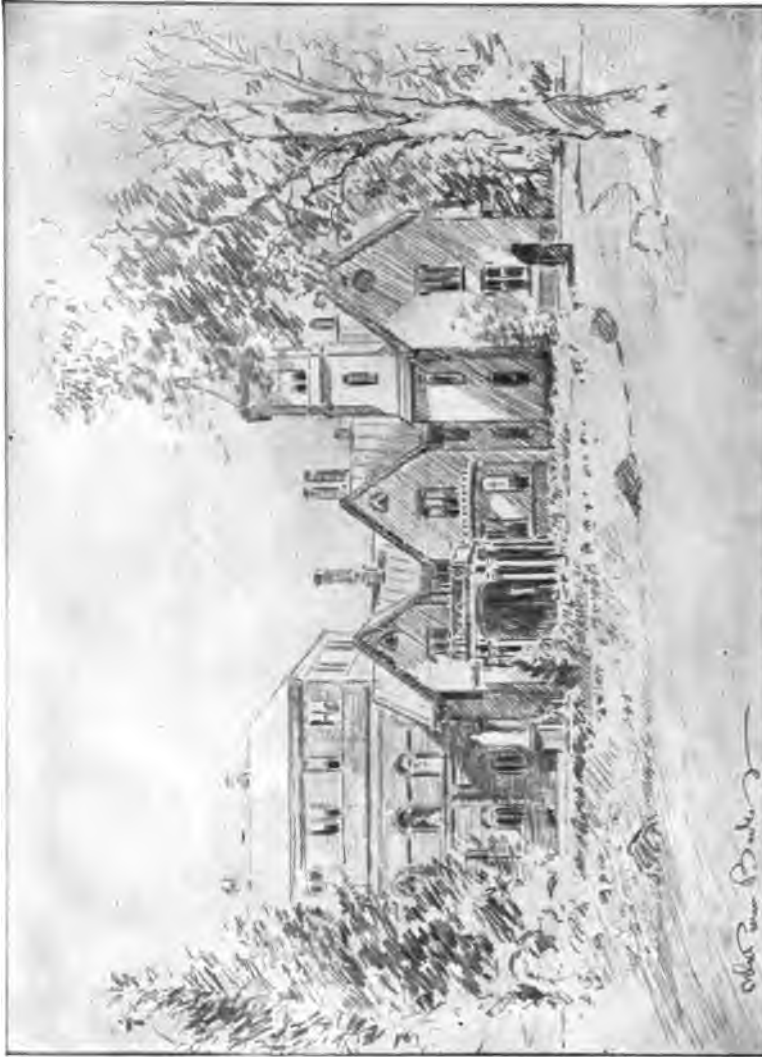
lic priest and Doctor of Divinity, celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass in this town at the request of several Catholics of the Roman Communion; and addressed to the Almighty his humble prayers for the constant and permanent prosperity of the State of Rhode Island." This paragraph was also printed in the *United States Chronicle*, issued in Providence, the wording being the same in both papers.

In 1832 a lot for a church in Providence was purchased at a cost of \$1,500. The site is now covered by the central aisle and sanctuary of the present Cathedral. The purchase was made in Dutée Green's store, on Christian Hill, by William Hye, from Isaac Matthewson, who, when he heard the purpose for which the lot was to be used, offered first \$100 and then \$500 bonus for a return deed. The offer was considered carefully, for the people were poor, but was finally decided by Rev. John Corry, who had succeeded Father Woodley, December 29, 1830, and who declared the lot the best site for a church in Providence, a judgment since amply justified. Father Woodley retired after three years' service here, to join the Jesuits at Georgetown, D. C.

The cornerstone of the first church in Providence, the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, was laid in July, 1836, and Mass was said in the church for the first time by Rev. Father Corry on the second Sunday in Advent, 1837. The church was dedicated November 4, 1838. The church was built with difficulty, against the opposition of many Catholics, and with delays from lack of money. It was 80x44 feet, of stone cemented over, and was the first Catholic stone church in Southeastern New England. It held a thousand persons, and was without vestry or organ. Even before it was finished there was call for a division of the parish, resulting four years later in the formation of St. Patrick's, the second parish in Providence, against the opposition of Rev. Father Corry. St. Patrick's Church was dedicated July 3, 1842, while the State was under martial law, in the Dorr War.

In the year 1841, the Catholics in the "North End" of Providence petitioned Bishop Fenwick of Boston for permission to have a parish of their own. The date of that request was March 5, 1841, and the Bishop gave every consideration and encouragement to the project, with the promise of sending a priest as soon as a site had been secured, and the church committee was formed consisting of eleven men to take charge of affairs. They wished to buy a site on Benefit street, but the price was too high, and having found a fine lot on "Fletcher Hill," which they could procure for \$2,000, with the recommendation of Bishop Fenwick, they purchased it.

Father Fennelly was appointed to take charge of the early developments, and until the church was built Mass was said in Franklin Hall and Masonic Hall on North Main street. After the purchase of the land on



ACADEMY OF THE SACRED HEART, ELMHURST

"Jefferson Plains" from David Burt and Thomas Maguire, the work of erecting the church was begun at once. Bishop Fenwick laid the cornerstone on July 13, 1841, and was assisted in this service by Fathers Fennelly, Corry, Byrne, O'Flaherty and O'Reilly. On January 15 of the following year, the first pastor was appointed in the person of the Rev. William Wiley, a convert of the faith. Ordained in 1827, he had spent the years preceding his coming to Providence in Salem and in Taunton, and had built up flourishing parishes in both of these cities. During his time the church was completed and was ready for dedication by the middle of 1842. When this church was torn down in 1904 there were found in its cornerstone many interesting relics and records of the time when it was in the process of construction. Notable among these was a letter of Father Wiley to the editor of the *Journal* announcing the forthcoming dedication of the edifice. It read as follows:

Please give notice in your paper that the solemn dedication of the new Catholic church, recently erected in the north part of this city, to the service of Almighty God, will take place on Sunday next. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Fenwick, assisted by several clergymen from Boston, this city, and elsewhere, will officiate on the occasion. Suitable discourses will be delivered, both forenoon and afternoon, and the choir will be assisted by a select number of ladies and gentlemen from Boston and other places. The debt incurred in the erection and completion of the house, and the limited resources of the congregation worshipping therein, united with a view to good order and the proper accommodation of those interested in witnessing the ceremony, render recourse necessary to the method of issuing admission tickets to the dedication, thus to aid in raising a fund for the liquidation of the debt of the church. The tickets may be had by our brethren of other denominations, desirous of witnessing the ceremony, of Messrs. Horton and Graham, No. 3 Arcade, and of Dr. Miller, North Main street, near the church, at one dollar each, which sum will be considered as a contribution to the common cause of religion and morality, and differing only as to the usual manner of raising it. The service on the occasion will commence at 10 o'clock in the forenoon and 3 in the afternoon, previous to which tickets may be obtained also at the door of the church.

The circumstances of the time induced Father Wiley to issue in connection with the foregoing announcement the subjoined explanation:

The undersigned, apprehensive lest the celebration noted above, at this critical time, seem to the public unreasonable, while the community are just recovering from the painful state of excitement into which they have been thrown by the menace of a civil war, deems it proper to state, in justification, if needed, that arrangements having been made for the ceremony when the melancholy occurrences of the past few days were wholly unforeseen, it could not be postponed to another day without great disappointment to many persons interested on the occasion, and much inconvenience to the church and congregation attached, of which he is the pastor.

W. WILEY.

June 25, 1842.

The ceremony of dedication was carried out by Bishop Fenwick with Solemn Pontifical Mass. The Most Rev. John Hughes, of New York, preached the sermon to a congregation which did not overflow the church because of the Dorr War, which had placed the State at the time under martial law.

The beginnings of Catholicity in the northern part of the State may be said to date from the foundation of St. Charles' parish on October 10, 1842, and land was purchased for a church "near Social Village on the Mendon road and Daniels street." There are records of Catholics in the place from about 1820, and Mass was occasionally celebrated in the town for at least twenty years before a church was built, and usually by Father Fitton or a priest from St. Mary's, Pawtucket. In 1844 a church was completed with Father Fitton as pastor.

Since the year 1844 the history of Catholicity in Rhode Island is written around the line of Bishops who have made Providence their Episcopal city.

The fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore convened in May, 1843. At that time Bishop Fenwick requested the division of his extensive diocese of Boston, and the Council sent the petition to the Holy See. The request was granted, and in September, 1843, Rhode Island and Connecticut were made into the diocese of Hartford, and the Rt. Rev. William Tyler was named as the first ordinary of the See. He received the bulls notifying him of his election on February 13, 1844, and on the following St. Patrick's Day he was consecrated in the Cathedral at Baltimore, by the Rt. Rev. Benedict Fenwick. He was installed in his Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Hartford on April 14, 1844.

At the time of his episcopal appointment, Bishop Tyler had 9997 souls under his jurisdiction, of whom 4817 were in Connecticut and 5180 in Rhode Island. Each State was possessed of three priests and four churches. Hartford had about 600 Catholics in a population of 13,000, while in Providence there were at least 2000 Catholics out of the total of 23,000. Providence had two churches and in the environs of the city the Catholics were no more numerous than in the towns in the vicinity of Connecticut's capital. "In consideration of these things," wrote Bishop Tyler, "and after having consulted with Dr. Fenwick, Bishop of Boston, and others upon whose judgment I could rely, I resolved to make my residence in Providence, and at the Council of the Bishops of the United States, to petition Rome to remove the See from Hartford to Providence." As a consequence he took up his residence here in June, 1844, and chose the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, of which the Rev. James Fitton was pastor, as his cathedral. This the prelate described at the time as follows: "It is a stone building eighty feet long by forty feet wide. It is very unpleasantly situated on account of the narrowness of the land on each side of it. There

is only four feet on one side and two on the other. Thus we are liable to have our windows darkened by buildings that may at any time be put up by the owners of the land near the church; and the buildings that now are near the church are very offensive, being stables in which are kept cows and horses. We desire very much to buy these grounds that we may be secure of enjoying the light of heaven and be free from these nuisances."

When Bishop Tyler came to Providence, he began at once the arduous task of providing churches and priests for his little flock. His people were poor, but loyal and faithful in the discharge of their religious duties. He succeeded in enlarging and improving the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, which he dedicated on Sunday, April 11, 1847. Bishop Fitzpatrick celebrated the Pontifical Mass on the occasion, and the Rev. Dr. Ryder, president of Holy Cross, preached the dedication sermon. He died on June 18, 1849, in the forty-fifth year of his age. His funeral services were solemnized by Bishop Fitzpatrick, assisted by Rev. John McElroy, S. J., and the Rev. John J. Williams, the late Archbishop of Boston; Rev. William Wiley preached the sermon, which was a splendid tribute from a lifelong associate and co-worker in the sacred ministry. His remains were laid at rest in the basement of his Cathedral, and are now by the side of those of Bishop Hendricken and Bishop Doran in the vault of the new edifice which has arisen on the site of the narrow strip of land of which the church was possessed when he took up the labors of this See.

The second resident Bishop of Providence was the Rt. Rev. Barnard O'Reilly, D. D. His episcopate is replete with interesting features, as it was coincident with the great tide of Irish immigration which flowed to these shores during and immediately after the years of the famine in Ireland. The consequent increases in population was accompanied with a proportionate increase in the number of priests, and churches which were multiplied with a rapidity which was unprecedented in the life of religion in the United States. The Sisters of Mercy were introduced into the diocese and the foundation laid for the systematic training of children in parochial schools. An orphan asylum was established which is still continuing its beneficent ministrations, and from one end of the diocese to the other there were indications that Catholicity was soon to be an important fact and factor in this section of New England. In addition to these great events of Bishop O'Reilly's administration, a special interest belongs to his name by reason of its association with a mysterious tragedy of the sea. The head of this diocese had gone to Ireland for the purpose of inviting a teaching order of men to Providence; he had fulfilled his mission and embarked upon the *Pacific*, and, together with one hundred and eighty-five other voyagers, he sank beneath the waters of the Atlantic.

Bishop O'Reilly had three very special interests in the work of foster-

ing the faith in his diocese. He was solicitous to increase the number of the clergy, to multiply Catholic schools, and to establish upon a solid foundation an institution which would administer Christian charity to the orphans under his care. In regard to the education of the children he admonished his people to "watch with sleepless vigilance over those precious products which God has confided to you and which He will require at your hands."

The Orphan Asylum on Prairie avenue owes its foundation to Bishop O'Reilly. The caring for dependent children was a work than which he considered none more worthy of a people devoted to the service of God. "If any of these parentless little ones should be lost," said he, "through our parsimony or neglect, we cannot consider ourselves as guiltless before God; He will hold us to a rigid accountability for the loss of the souls that might have been saved for Him by our charitable interposition."

Bishop O'Reilly's visitations to his diocese were frequent and laborious. He expended his exertions in the erections of schools, asylums and churches. He attended the Council of Baltimore, in 1852. He visited Europe to procure priests and teachers; he defended the faith in writings and in sermons; he vindicated the soldier's rights to liberty of conscience in the case of a private named Duggan and procured a court decree to the effect that a man in the service of the United States could attend no church or any church he pleased, according to his choice. For months, over the title of "Roger Williams," he carried on a controversy concerning this point until the army officers were compelled by the force of his logic to look at the matter in the light in which it was proposed by the Bishop.

The Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick McFarland was the third Bishop of Hartford. He was consecrated on March 14, 1858. Bishop McFarland founded a number of churches in Providence. He laid the cornerstone and dedicated St. Mary's, St. Michael's, St. John's and the Assumption.

In 1870, within a quarter of a century, the Hartford diocese had 100 churches, 64 chapels, 95 priests and 200,000 souls. So at the beginning of the year 1872 the diocese of Hartford was divided and Providence made a separate See. Bishop McFarland left Providence, taking with him several priests, a number of Sisters of Mercy and members of other Orders and went to Hartford to reside.

On Sunday, February 25, 1872, while Bishop McFarland was celebrating Mass at Providence in the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, at the end of the Gospel, he ascended the pulpit and announced his approaching separation from the people of that congregation and city, and from the people of Rhode Island, in most feeling terms. After giving the history of the division of the diocese, and assuring the people that it was official, and not personal ties or those of affection that were to be severed,



ST. FRANCIS XAVIER CONVENT, PROVIDENCE



Very faithfully Yrs
of Thomas F. Hendricks
Bishop of Providence

1880

he said: "I thought then and still think that this is for your interest, as you will have a younger and more zealous Bishop to labor among you. The new diocese will be an ample one—indeed, more so than the present one when first created. Many of you remember well when Bishop Tyler came, and know the rapid progress Catholicity has made here since: the eight thousand Catholics have become two hundred thousand with a hundred churches and one hundred and eleven priests. The new diocese will embrace one hundred and ten thousand Catholics and at least fifty-four priests."

The Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Hendricken was consecrated Bishop of Providence on April 28, 1872, and began his labors with 20 churches and about 35 priests. In six years he had established 13 new parishes and erected the episcopal residence on Fenner street. The Old Cathedral, though only forty years built when destroyed, was not a substantial edifice. The farewell services in the "Old Church," the original Catholic church in Providence, were held on Sunday, May 5, 1878. The new pro-Cathedral had been erected, at a cost of \$30,000, and a fine episcopal residence, costing \$40,000, all paid for. But the leading feature of his earliest undertakings was to plan the present splendid Cathedral of Providence, and to provide the means of erecting it. The Bishop had set his heart on the work, and with unflinching courage he entered on the undertaking. He began by obtaining small collections from the people, visiting every parish in the diocese in turn, and finally he succeeded in imparting to others the enthusiasm he himself had felt, with the result of securing the hearty coöperation of every Catholic, and of many Protestant friends. The collections which amounted to nearly \$50,000 a year, enabled him to carry on his great work, as he had intended, paying for it as he progressed. As the old church lot was too small, he first purchased a lot of suitable size, for which he paid \$36,000. On Thanksgiving Day, the cornerstone of the new Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul was laid, with hopeful and imposing pageantry and religious devotions. His ardor increased with time and with the development of the herculean task. As it approached a cost of \$500,000 he still felt more than ever encouraged, especially as all was nearly accomplished, and every cent was paid. Bishop Hendricken died on Friday, June 11, 1886. His great lifework and an everlasting monument to his labors is the Cathedral, one of the finest church buildings in the country.

While engaged in its erection he was supplying his diocese with priests, churches, institutions, and religious orders. The Jesuits came and received charge of St. Joseph's parish. The Religious of the Sacred Heart established their home at Elmhurst, the Ursulines were introduced in St. Mary's parish. The Sisters of Mercy opened a branch at Fall River, and

the convents of the Sisters of Mercy multiplied their schools and institutions.

The Rt. Rev. Matthew Harkins, D. D., succeeded Bishop Hendricken. During his episcopacy, in everything that relates to religion, the progress and development of the church have been constant and solid. The number of Catholics in the State at the present time exceeds the combined total of all other denominations and better provisions have been made by their church for the fostering of the spiritual life of the people, for the education of the children and in charitable endeavor, than by any other denomination. Because of these facts the Catholic Church has assumed, during Bishop Harkins' administration a commanding position, and become a dominant factor, not only numerically but influentially also, in the life of Rhode Island. An evidence of this phenomenal growth is to be found in the establishment of parishes, which in rapid succession have been created in the period that Bishop Harkins has governed the diocese.

There were thirteen churches in the city of Providence when Bishop Harkins assumed the direction of the diocese. There were twenty-five in 1919. Those in existence under Bishop Hendricken were the Cathedral, St. Patrick's, St. Mary's, St. Joseph's, the Immaculate Conception, St. Michael's, St. John's, Assumption, St. Edward's, St. Charles Borromeo, Holy Name, St. Teresa's, and Our Lady of the Rosary.

Under the administration of Bishop Harkins the following parishes were founded, every one of which has erected a handsome church edifice:

St. Adelbert's Providence; St. Ann's, Providence; St. Anthony's, Providence; St. Agnes, Providence; St. Bartholomew's, Providence; Blessed Sacrament, Providence; St. Charles, Providence; Holy Ghost, Providence; St. Hedwig's, Providence; St. George's, Providence; Our Lady of Lourdes, Providence; St. Raymond's, Providence; St. Sebastian's, Providence; St. Joseph's, Pacoag; Our Lady of Good Help, Mapleville; Holy Trinity, Central Falls; St. Matthew's, Central Falls; St. Joseph's, Central Falls; St. Matthew's, Cranston; St. Paul's, Cranston; St. Brendan's, East Providence; St. Margaret's, East Providence; St. Francis Xavier, East Providence; St. Brigid's, Johnston; St. Roco's, Thornton; Our Lady of Grace, Johnston; St. Ambrose, Albion; St. Lawrence's, Centredale; Presentation, Marienville; St. John's, Slatersville; St. Cecelia's, Pawtucket; St. Edward's, Pawtucket; St. John's, Pawtucket; St. Leo's, Pawtucket; Our Lady of Consolation, Pawtucket; St. Aloysius, Woonsocket; Holy Family, Woonsocket; Our Lady of Victories, Woonsocket; St. Stanislaus, Woonsocket; Holy Angels, Barrington; St. Elizabeth's, Bristol; Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Bristol; St. Casimir's, Warren; St. John's, Warren; St. Alexander's, Warren; Our Lady of Czenstochowa, Quidnick; St. John's, Artic; St. Joseph's, Natick; Our Lady of Good Counsel, Phenix; St. Benedict's, Conimicut; St. Mark's, Jamestown; St. Augustine's, Newport; St. Andrew's, Block Island; St. Anthony's, Portsmouth; St. Philomena's, Narragansett Pier; St. Bernard's, Wickford, and Immaculate Conception, Westerly.

Bishop Harkins has under his jurisdiction 275,000 souls, which is more than one-half the total population of our State, and even judging the condition of his diocese from these statistics alone, it is evident, considering its territory, that it is one of the most compact, most prosperous and best organized in the United States. There is no thickly settled portion of Rhode Island in which there is not a Catholic church, and many of these are the best examples of architecture that there are in our State. All over Rhode Island are magnificent edifices dedicated to the glory of God, and all of them are so substantially constructed that they will meet the needs of the various parishes as places in which God may be worshipped for many years to come. For the greater part of his episcopate, his jurisdiction extended over that portion of Massachusetts which belonged to the Providence diocese until the year 1904, and there, also, many substantial church institutional and educational structures were erected during that period of his administration.

In many of the parishes the modest structure of wood of the pioneer days of Rhode Island's Catholicity has been replaced by the more substantial structure of brick or stone and the erection of the church edifices has frequently been accompanied with the building of the parochial schools so that now the school property of the diocese has a valuation to be estimated in figures of millions, and the last great work of Bishop Harkins was the foundation of Providence College, which is one of the most pretentious educational buildings to be found in the United States. It was completed in the year 1918, formally blessed on May 25, 1919, and opened for classes September of the same year. The faculty is composed of members of the Dominican Order, and the courses lead to the usual degrees given in American colleges. The establishment of this institution brings to completion the Catholic education system of the State, and the schools now embrace every grade, through the primary and secondary to the collegiate courses imparted in the magnificent Gothic structure known as the Bishop Harkins Hall.

Two auxiliaries and a co-adjutor Bishop were appointed by the Holy See to assist Bishop Harkins in his extensive episcopal labors. The first of these was the Rt. Rev. Thomas F. Doran, Vicar-General of the diocese for twenty-three years, and named as Auxiliary by Pope Pius X in 1915. He filled the office for about a year, and his death occurred on January 3, 1916. On July 13 of the following year, the Rt. Rev. D. M. Lowney succeeded to the important office of Auxiliary, and was consecrated October 23, 1917. Bishop Lowney was called to his reward in August, 1918, and in January, 1919, the Rt. Rev. Augustin Hickey, of Clinton, Massachusetts, was named by Pope Benedict XV as a Co-adjutor to the See of Providence. Bishop Hickey was consecrated by the Rt. Rev. Thomas Beaven in the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul on April 25, 1919, and succeeded to

the spiritual leadership of the 275,000 Catholics who are now to be found within the borders of this State.

There are 238 priests attached to the ninety-four churches and missions and the sixty chapels which are scattered over Rhode Island. There are three academies for young men, five for young ladies, and forty-one parochial schools, in which institutions there are upwards of 25,000 children. Four Orphan Asylums are caring for an average of 600 children, and an Infant Asylum assumes the burdens of protecting two hundred more. There are two hospitals conducted under Catholic auspices, St. Joseph's here in Providence, and the Hills Grove Sanitarium, both in charge of the Sisters of St. Francis. Two Homes for Working Girls furnish accommodations for two hundred, and the Home for Working Boys provides for sixty. The Little Sisters of the Poor maintain a Home for the Aged in Pawtucket, and the average number of inmates is about three hundred. There are five Day Nurseries for Children, two Industrial Schools and two Summer Homes, and all of these are performing a social service that is a notable contribution to the welfare of the community. In its organization, its church property, its educational system, its charitable institutions, and in its exceptional facilities for accomplishing effective religious work, the Catholic Church in Rhode Island can scarcely be surpassed in any diocese in the whole range of the United States.

CONCERNING THE JEWS.

Rhode Island is prominent in the early history of the Jews of America. Until the Revolution, Newport was far more important than New York, and its extensive trade facilities attracted many Jewish merchants. It was only one of the inexplicable occurrences of history which later gave to New York its supremacy, to Newport its decline.

Life was a constant struggle for the early white settlers in Rhode Island. Game and fish were plentiful, but other food was scarce, and as these settlers were unaccustomed to agriculture or cattle raising, they would have starved but for the assistance of the Indians, whose friendly aid they gained through Roger Williams, who had early won the esteem of the red man.

If this pioneer life was difficult for the average settler, what must it have meant of hardship for the observant Jewess. When meat could be obtained only from the Indians, how was she to give her family the kosher meat her religion demanded? How, in this new, strange land, far from the niceties of civilization, was she to maintain any of the ceremonies of her religion? Hers must have been a repetition of the trials which beset the Jewish housewife during the forty years in the wilderness. And yet, despite all difficulties, she conquered. She gladly endured temporal discomforts for the joy of worshipping her God unmolested. Remember, many of these women came from Spain and Portugal where the Inquisition had forced them to become Marranos; where persecution was

Contributed.

so strong that their children had two sets of names, Catholic names for the outside world, Jewish names for the home circle. Remember that these women, to disarm suspicion and to save their lives and the lives of their children, seemingly told their beads in public, though their hearts formed, not the Ave Maria and the Pater Noster, but the Shemang. Remember that these women were so much slaves of habit and fear that even here, far from their bloodthirsty oppressors, they still fingered their beads as they repeated their Hebrew prayers, though their one desire was to throw off all memory of their days of persecution. To this end, their first act in the new country was to return publicly to their faith, forever abjuring the Catholic names forced upon them in Spain, and even though they had grown-up children, being re-married according to Jewish rites. Such were Moses Lopez, whose name in Portugal was José, Edward Lopez, who re-married his wife, changing the name of his daughters from Anna and Catherine to Abigail and Sarah, and Michael Lopez, who changed his name to Abraham, and who re-married his wife, changing her name from Joana to Abigail.

The fifteen Jewish families that came to Newport from Holland in 1658 immediately formed a Congregation, Jeshuat Israel (Salvation of Israel.) They worshipped at the houses of the members until their descendants in 1759 laid the foundations of the present Synagogue which was completed in 1763. There also came in 1658 two Spanish Jews, Moses Pacheco and Mordecai Campanal who brought with them the three Masonic degrees, and who organized the first Masonic Lodge in America. The meetings were held in the members' homes until St. John's Lodge was organized in 1750.

All of these families were of high moral and financial standing, and their money and marked ability added much to the development of the country. Their women endured many discomforts until at the end of the seventeenth century Newport commenced to build a comfortable type of house, Providence at the same period having only log houses with a ladder leading to the second story.

In 1684 a public officer, William Dyre, seized the estates of some Jews on the ground that they were aliens, but their good conduct during their twenty odd years of residence stood them in good stead, the General Assembly ruling in their favor, and saying that they "might expect as good protection here as any stranger not of our nation ought to have, being obedient to the laws." But they were obliged to remain strangers and were not permitted to become part of the nation, for when Aaron Lopez and Isaac Eleazar applied in 1762 for naturalization, the Newport Superior Court denied it on religious grounds, and this discrimination (which did not then exist in New York) was not removed in Newport until 1783.

In 1694 Jews from Curacao came to Newport, and after the earthquake in Lisbon in 1755 sixty Spanish families joined them, all wealthy, well-educated merchants. This education made their women prominent in a community where but few English women could even sign their own names. They brought not only education, but personal refinement, rumor having it that they introduced into Newport the use of the tooth-brush.

They came into a country where for more than thirty years every family in comfortable circumstances owned at least one slave. The freely

given labor of the Indians was a thing of the past. There were a very few white laborers, but the first settlers were practically on a social equality, and slavery became perforce a national institution.

The housewives of that day had to struggle with prices beside which even our war prices of to-day seem ridiculously low when we consider the greater purchasing power of money in general at that time. The English shilling then in use was the equivalent of $16\frac{2}{3}$ cents. In the middle of the eighteenth century Newport housewives were paying for beef 4s. 6d., that is, 75 cents a pound; for milk, $16\frac{2}{3}$ cents a quart; butter, \$1.16 $\frac{2}{3}$ a pound; cheese, 50 cents a pound. A seamstress received \$12 a week for dressmaking, but quilting was more important, so for overseeing a quilting bee she was paid \$3 a day.

The names of these early settlers survive in our well-known Jewish families of to-day. Solomon, Mendes, Moses, Meyers, Lyon, Jacobs, Eleazar—these were among the earliest settlers, and in 1755 came the Lopez, Rivera, Polack, Hart and Hays families.

At that time if aliens traded in English colonies, their vessels and goods were forfeit. We have seen that Newport was unwilling to grant naturalization to Jews, so before going to the English colony of Newport, Moses Lopez, Abram de Rivera and Solomon Hart were naturalized in the Dutch colony of New York.

These families became closely connected by marriage, Moses Lopez marrying Rebecca, the daughter of Abram de Rivera, and Moses Seixas marrying Jochebed Levy. Moses Seixas was one of the founders of the Bank of Rhode Island and was its cashier until his death. He was the first Master of St. John's Masonic Lodge of Newport and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Rhode Island. He had a patriarchal quiverful of daughters, Bilhah, Abigail, Grace, Esther, Rachel, Hannah and Judith. Bilhah, Abigail and Esther died unmarried. Rachel was married July 5, 1797, to Naphthali Phillips in what is now the Perry Mansion on the Parade, Newport. At that time it was the family residence of Moses Seixas who later sold it to Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. Grace remained a spinster until the mellow age of seventy-two, when she married Dr. Benjamin I. Cohen. Truly, romance springs eternal in the feminine breast.

It was not for lack of suitors that she remained single until practically the end of her days, for she was a beautiful, talented woman who shone in the community. In her youth, Governor Wanton of Rhode Island was deeply in love with her, but she could not persuade herself to consider intermarriage. She was well and favorably known as a writer of prose and poetry, though her one book, "Rose-Marie" is all that we have left to-day. Only two copies are known to exist, one in the Redwood Library at Newport, and one in the New York Public Library.

There is not much trace in the old cemetery at Newport of the early Jewish women. When the cemetery was repaired according to the provisions of Judah Touro's will, many stones were found to be broken and crumbled. These remnants were reverently gathered and buried, and records which would have been of inestimable value were forever lost. The earliest stones left are to the memory of women who lived and died in Boston, but who were buried in Newport, as, for instance, Reyna, wife

of Isaac Touro, Rachel Hays and Mrs. Fegla Elkan. Other valuable records which we would have prized to-day, were destroyed by the British when they occupied Newport.

In 1763 the Newport Synagogue, the oldest in America, was completed at a cost of 2000 pounds sterling, although there were only twenty Jewish families in Newport at the time. It was dedicated on December 2, its first chasan being Isaac Touro, a refugee from Portugal. Three copies of the Torah (one from Amsterdam, 200 years old) were carried in solemn procession and deposited in the Ark. The ceremony was impressive and the Synagogue beautiful in its simplicity. It is a building 40x30, with a deep gallery supported on Ionic columns, these topped by Corinthian pillars, which hold the roof. Dr. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale University, who was present says, "The order and decorum, the harmony and solemnity of the musick, together with a handsome assembly of people in an edifice the most perfect of the Temple kind perhaps in America, and splendidly illuminated, could not but raise in the mind a faint idea of the majesty and grandeur of the ancient Jewish worship."

Perhaps the most interesting of all the Newport families was the Touro family, descendants of the first chasan. Abraham Touro in 1822 left \$10,000 to the State of Rhode Island for the preservation of the Synagogue, and his brother Judah, in 1854, left \$10,000 similarly in trust for the preservation of the cemetery and for the salary of a Rabbi. In their honor the street on which the Synagogue stands is called Touro street.

Judah Touro was much opposed to slavery and owned but one slave. He gave this slave a business education, and then emancipated him and set him up in business for himself. He urged all his friends to free their slaves and helped in that wherever possible. He was public spirited, as is evidenced by his donation of \$10,000 which made possible the building of Bunker Hill monument. He was so universally beloved that on June 6, 1854, delegations came from all over the country to attend his funeral, these delegations being the guests of the city of Newport. He never married. He and his cousin, Catherine Hays, one of the prominent Newport women, loved each other, but their close relationship prevented their marriage and both remained single. But she felt she could not remain in Newport and moved to Richmond, Virginia, where she died the same month, almost the same day that he died. In memory of their unhappy love, he left her \$5,000 in his will.

After his death there was a project to erect a monument to him, but this was abandoned as being a violation of Jewish law. He remembered all existing charitable organizations liberally in his will, not only those of Rhode Island, but also many in various parts of the country. The best proof that there was no Jewish woman's organization in Rhode Island at that time is the fact that none was mentioned in this generous document.

No history of the Jews of Rhode Island, men or women, would be complete without a mention of Brown University which, in its women's annex, Pembroke, has so many of our Jewish girls of to-day. This University, a Baptist institution, was opened to Jews by a subscription in 1770 of 20 pounds sterling (about \$100) by Moses Lindo, a Jewish merchant of Charleston, South Carolina. The University Corporation thereupon voted "That the children of Jews may be admitted into this

institution and entirely enjoy the freedom of their religion without any restraint or imposition whatever, and that the Chancellor and President do write Mr. Moses Lindo of Charleston, South Carolina, and give him intimation of this resolution."

The personnel of the Jewish population of Newport changed with the Revolution. The Jews were loyal to the States, and when the British occupied Newport, they left for Leicester, Massachusetts, Charleston, Savannah, Richmond and Philadelphia. For years the Jewish population was negligible. In 1883 a few German Jews found their way there, the most prominent family being that of Eugene Schrej. Later Jews came from southeastern Europe and the Synagogue was re-opened. The Spanish element survived in its Rabbi, Rev. Dr. Abraham Mendes, who was greatly beloved and to whose memory a beautiful carved olive wood tablet has been placed in the Synagogue.

The first activity among the Jewish women of Newport was in 1892 when a charitable association was organized by Mrs. Rosen. In 1905 a Section of the C. J. W. was organized by Mrs. Misch with Miss Sara Schreier as president.

Providence had a few Jewish settlers in 1769, but there was no communal activity until 1840, when Solomon Pereira of Amsterdam settled there, followed shortly by enough others to make Minyan. A Congregation was thereupon formed which met in Pereira's home. An alcove in his parlor was used for the Sefer Torah which was borrowed from New York for the Holy Days. He later donated ground for a cemetery and built round it the fence which the law demanded. The members of this early Congregation were Wormser, Stern, Pereira, Rashkover, Steinberger, Frank, Nathan, Solomon, Halberstadt and Kalter. There were itemized charges against Kalter's estate for ten men for minyan, for the seven days' shiva, and for a bolt of linen for a shroud. In 1854 the Congregation was formed which is to-day the Reform Temple Beth El.

The first communal activity of the Jewish women of Providence was the organization in 1872 by the then Rabbi, Rev. Dr. Voorsanger of the Ladies' Montefiore Hebrew Benevolent Association, still in existence as a benevolent and charitable organization. The first officers were: President, Mrs. David Frank; vice-president, Mrs. Charles Green; treasurer, Mrs. Julius Shuman. In 1894 a Section of the C. J. W. was organized by Rev. Dr. David Blaustein with Mrs. David C. Fink as president.

The Jewish settlements in the other cities and towns of the State are the organization in 1872 by the then Rabbi, Rev. Dr. Voorsanger, of the years old. In 1916 a Section of the C. J. W. was organized in Pawtucket by Mrs. William Loeb and Mrs. Misch with Mrs. Jules Levy as president. The two Rhode Island Sections of the Council, Pawtucket and Providence, are valued members of the Rhode Island State Federation of Women's Clubs, and lead in all affairs of import to the women in general of the State.

We may have seemed to say too much about the men of the pioneer days, but records of the women are scanty, while the records of the men show what position they, and through them their women held and through what conditions they built their lives. It is a picture of a happy life almost patriarchal in its simplicity, a life which despite the hardships en-

countered in the new, undeveloped country, was but a pleasant, dreamless rest after the horrible nightmare of the Spanish Inquisition from which so many of the pioneer Rhode Island Jews were refugees.

In Providence there are one Reform Jewish Temple (progressive), seven synagogues (orthodox), and three Hevras (which are smaller congregations without a building for religious activities). Newport has two synagogues; Pawtucket, one; Woonsocket, one; Bristol, one; Westerly, one; making a total of seventeen in the State of Rhode Island.

The Jewish Orphanage of Rhode Island is located at 1213 North Main street, Providence. The first Jewish Orphanage in Providence was established on Willard avenue. A second one was opened on Orms street, which met with more encouragement, because of the earnest endeavors of the Jewish women. It was not until the two were combined in 1909, the date of incorporation of the present institution, that the Orphanage was placed upon a substantial financial basis by the leading Jewish business men who were elected to the directorship of the home. On June 24, 1910, its present location was acquired and occupied. Since that time until the present, under the presidency of William Schloss, one of its organizers, this institution has become the most popular Jewish agency in the State of Rhode Island, both with respect to its large membership, which approximates 1100 persons, and to its financial support. Early in the year 1913 the directors decided that a more salutary development of the work of the home and better training of the children would be effected by securing a superintendent who had experience in such work and who was expert in child training. On April 1 of that year Henry Woolf, A. M., former superintendent of the Leopold Morse Home of Boston, was elected to this position, and under his administration the Orphanage has ranked among the first progressive Jewish orphan asylums in the country. The Ladies' Auxiliary to the Jewish Orphanage of Rhode Island was organized in 1912 as an auxiliary to the Orphanage corporation.

The Hebrew Ladies' Union Aid Association was organized in 1881, in Providence. It functions as a relief agency for the Jewish poor of this city. It has the largest membership of any Jewish relief organization in the State, its subscribers numbering approximately 700. This association also supports entirely the Jewish Old Folks' Home, located at 161 Orms street. This home was established by the Ladies' Union Aid Association, in the year 1915, for the purpose of caring for indigent and infirm aged Hebrews of both sexes.

The Hebrew Free Loan Association of Providence was organized February 4, 1903. The purpose of this association is to loan to persons of the Jewish community certain amounts of money without interest which will help them to tide over financial difficulties or which will aid in setting them up in a small business way, so that the recipient may not have to become even a temporary dependent upon charity. The notes of the recipients are endorsed by substantial business men, so that rarely have any of the funds been lost to the association. At the time of the creation of this agency, loans amounting to \$25 could be advanced. At present loans are made as high as \$500.

The Hebrew Educational Institute, located at 65 Benefit street, Providence, was incorporated April 16, 1914. The organizer was Dr. Albert I.

Pobirs, of Providence. The objects of the institute are "to acquire a building to be properly equipped with the facilities for maintaining departments of Jewish learning where the young people of the Jewish faith may be instructed in Jewish thought and life; where concerted action shall have for its aim, regeneration in the field of mental, moral and physical development, in order that they may not be carried away from their faith for which our fathers have paid so dearly; to maintain a place where local Jewish activities may be centralized under competent Jewish authorities, able to expound the axioms of the spiritual elements of religion harmony and brotherly love, as the governing principles of uniting the Jewish community into one indestructible body of noble, intelligent American citizens."

EARLY OPINIONS AS TO STATE OF RELIGION IN RHODE ISLAND.

RHODE ISLAND.—This island is about ffouerteen miles Long, in some places 3 or 4 miles Broad, in other lesse. It is full of people having been a receptacle for people of severall sorts and opinions. There was a Patent granted to one Coddington for the Government of this Island, and Warwick and Providence, two Townes which lye on the Maine, and I think they still keepe a seeming forme of Government but to little purpose, none submitting to Supream Authority but as they please.—Samuel Maverick, Boston, 1624-1664, from "Account of New England," 1660.

They allow liberty of conscience and worship to all who live civilly.

In this Colony is the greatest number of Indians, yet they never had anything allowed towards the civilizing and converting the Indians. * *

In this Province only, they have not any place set apart for the worship of God, there being so many subdivided sects, they cannot agree to meet together in one place, but according to their severall judgments, they sometimes associate in one house, sometimes in another.—Col. Richard Nichols, first English Governor of New York, 1665.

Those people that goe under the denomination of Baptists and Quakers are the most that publicly congregate together, but there are others of divers persuasions and principles all which together with them enjoy their liberties * * * wherein all people in our Colloney are to enjoy their liberty of conscience provided their liberty extend not to licentiousness but as for Papists, wee know of none amongst us.

We leave every man to walke as God shall persuade their hartes, and doe actively and passively yield obedience to the Civill Magistrate and doe not actively disturb the Civill peace and live peaceably in the Corporation as our Charter requires, and have liberty to frequent any meetings of worship for their better instruction and information, but as for beggars and vagabonds wee have none amongst us.—Peleg Sanford, Governor, 1680.

ROAD ISLAND.—Here is a medley of most Persuasions, but neither church nor Meeting House, except one built for the use of the Quakers, who are here very numerous, and have annually a General Meeting from all Quarters.

Many of the others regard neither Time, nor Place, nor Worship; and even some very sober men have lived so long without it, that they think all instituted Religion useless.

THE NARRAGANSETT COUNTRY. Churches here are none, and but a few Houses; I cannot say there is one English town in the whole Province. What is most considerable * * * is the settlement of the French Protestants, who, on the violence of the Persecution, left their country, came over to New England, and took up their habitation in this Wilderness; when they have made good improvement, live comfortably, and have planted great numbers of vines, which they say thrive well, and it is hoped will be very beneficial to them.—N. N., 1690 (Author Unknown).

THE COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND, ETC.—They seem wholly to have neglected the Royall intention, and their own professed declaration * * * “of Godly edifying themselves and one another in the holy Christian faith and worship, and for the gaining over and conversion of the poor ignorant Indian natives to the sincere professions and observance of the same faith and worship.” Upon which grounds, they were granted to have and enjoy their judgments and conscience in matters of religious concerns, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using their liberty to licentiousness and profaneness. In that they have never erected nor encouraged any school of learning, or had the means of instruction by a learned orthodox ministry. The government, being elective, has been kept in the hands of such who have strenuously opposed the same; and the generality of the people are shamefully ignorant, and all manner of licentiousness and profaneness does greatly abound, and is indulged within that government.—Lord Bellamont, Governor of New England, 1699.

RHODE ISLAND.—I believe there never was held such a variety of religions together on so small a spot of ground as have been in that Colony. It has a *colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Antisab- batians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters*, every thing in the world but *Roman Catholics and real Christians*, tho' of the latter, I hope there have been more than of the former among them; so that if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at the general muster of opinionists!

I may venture to say, that Rhode Island has usually been the *Ger- izzim* of New England; * * * *Bona Terra, Malagens*. The condition of the rising generation upon that Island is indeed exceedingly lamentable!—Cotton Mather, Boston, 1702.

NEWPORT.—The inhabitants are of a mixed kind consisting of many sorts and subdivisions of sects. Here are four sorts of Ana Baptists, besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and many of no profession at all, notwithstanding so many differences, here are fewer quarrels about religion than elsewhere, the people living peaceably with their neighbors, of whatever profession. They all agree in one point, that the Church of England is the second best.—Bishop Berkeley, 1720.

Too many of them have worn off a serious sense of all religion. Several of the better sort are accustomed to meet on the Lord's day for the performance of divine worship, but most of those who are dispersed throughout this Colony seem to rival some well-bred people of other countries in thorough indifference for all that is sacred, being equally careless of outward worship, and of inward principles, whether of faith or practice. Of the bulk of them it may be certainly be said that they live

without the sacraments, not being so much as baptized; and as for their morals, I apprehend there is nothing to be found in them that should tempt others to make an experiment of their principles, either in religion or in government. But it must be owned, the general behaviour of the inhabitants in those towns where churches and meetings have been long settled and regularly attended seems so much better as sufficiently to show the difference which a solemn regular worship of God makes between persons of the same blood, temper, and natural faculties. * * * The religion of these people (negro slaves), as is natural to suppose, takes after that of their masters. Some few are baptized; several frequent the different assemblies; and far the greater part none at all. An ancient antipathy to the Indians—whom it seems our first planters * * * imagined they had a right to treat on the foot (as though) Canaanites or Amalekites—together with an irrational contempt of the blacks, as creatures of another species, who had no right to be instructed or admitted to the sacraments—have proved a main obstacle to the conversion of these poor people.—Bishop Berkeley, 1732.

As to the state of religion in Rhode Island Colony, * * * they are a very free people in that respect. They consist of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Anabaptists and Quakers, but the Quakers are now the most considerable, their present Governor, John Wanton, Esq., being a Quaker, as are also several of the Council and House of Representatives; and as they are principled for a free ministry of the gospel, so consequently there is no forced maintenance in the Colony for the ministry of any persuasion, but every different society that are for maintaining a preacher, do it voluntarily or by subscription.—Modern History, Moll, 1739.

Number of actual communicants of the Church of England, 37; number who profess to be of the Church of England, about 200; number of dissenters of all sorts, particularly Papists, about 8000, and much to be feared over half of them infidels. Some few Papists, who I believe harbour many others in disguise; number of Heathen and Infidels, about six thousand, and a round number of them Atheists, as far as wretched man can be such; number of converts from a profane, disorderly and un-Christian Course of Life, to a Life of Christian purity, meekness and charity, Two converts.—Rev. John Checkley, Rector St. John's Church, Providence, Parish Notes, 1739.

PROVIDENCE AND WARWICK.—The inhabitants of these places are the descendants of those sectaries who were banished the Massachusetts Jurisdiction, 1630-1640, * * * but they now live in great amity with their neighbours, and though every man does what he thinks right in his own eyes, it is rare that any notorious Crimes are committed by them, which may be attributed in some measure to their great veneration for the Holy Scriptures which they read from the least to the greatest though they have neither Ministers nor Magistrates to recommend it to them. They have an aversion to all sorts of Taxes, as the Inventions of Men to support *Hirelings* as they call such Ministers and Magistrates who won't serve them for nothing.—Rev. Daniel Neal, History of New England, 1720.

According to Callender, there were thirty-three "distinct societies or worshipping assemblies of Christians, besides several places where there are occasional meetings' in the Colony, in 1738. Eight of these were on the Island of Rhode Island: Three Baptist, two Congregational, two Quaker and one Episcopal. In the nine towns on the mainland there were as many meeting houses and Baptist churches or societies. Of the Quakers, there were eight meetings on the main with one on Conanicut Island. Of Episcopal churches, there was one at Providence, one at North Kingstown, one at Westerly and one at Warwick. There were three Congregational churches, one at Providence, one at South Kingstown and one at Westerly.



CHAPTER XXXII

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF RHODE ISLAND



PROVIDENCE IN 1868

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THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF RHODE ISLAND.

The present State of Rhode Island had its origin in the union of four towns,—Providence, Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick. Providence was settled by Roger Williams and others in 1636; Portsmouth by William Coddington and associates in 1638; Newport by William Coddington, John Clarke and others in 1639, and Warwick by John Greene, Randall Holden, and others in 1642. In the year 1643, the first three towns were united under a charter given by Charles the First and obtained by Roger Williams, under the title of the "Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England." On May 12-21, 1647, a government was organized under this charter, at an assembly styled **THE GENERAL COURT OF ELECTION**, meeting at Portsmouth. Warwick, whose name was not included in the charter, was admitted to the union with the same privileges of the other towns. It is recorded "that the major parte of the Colonie was present at this Assemblie." At this General Court Mr. John Coggeshall of Newport was chosen "President (Governor) of the Province or Colonie," Roger Williams, Assistant for Providence, John Sanford for Portsmouth, William Coddington for Newport and Randall Holden for Warwick. William Dyer was chosen Recorder and Jeremy Clarke Treasurer. The term **GENERAL ASSEMBLY** is first used in the records of this meeting and at this time meant the annual gathering of the freemen of the four towns for the election of general officers, and was always to be held "upon the first Tuesday, after the 15th of May, annually, if wind or weather hinder not," to be succeeded by "The General Court of Tryall," "upon the second Tuesday of June next ensuing," at Newport. The Court of Trial had to do with such crimes as hazard life, limb, disfranchisement, or banishment and all major crimes. The President was supreme judge in this Colony court. With him all the assistants were to sit as associate judges. This constituted the Supreme Court of the Colony, meeting twice a year.

At this three days session of the General Assembly, 1647, the first Code of Laws was enacted, covering 58 pages of Vol. I, Rhode Island Colonial Records, pp. 150-208, inc. The first General Assembly of the Colony was a "Democratical" body, including the major part of the freemen therein.

The second General Assembly, meeting at Providence, May, 1648, was a representative body made up of six men from each of the four

towns, twenty-four members in all. In the "Rules and Orders," the Assembly is also called a "Courte," and the presiding officer is called a "Moderator." The last rule provided "that they that whisper or disturb ye Court, or useth nipping terms, shall forfeitt six pence for every fault." The last General Assembly as at first constituted under the Charter of 1643, was held at Portsmouth, October 16-26, 1650. In that session, a Representative Committee of six discreet, able men out of each town was to be chosen "for transacting the affaires of the Commonwealth." For four years the island and mainland towns had separate bodies in legislation, but in 1654, the four towns chose twenty-four commissioners, six for each, to act as a "Generall Court of this Collonie or Generall Assemblie." From this date until the reception of the Charter at Newport, November, 1663, the lawmaking power of the four towns was styled "THE COURT OF COMMISSIONERS," six from each town. Benedict Arnold, of Newport, was the last President under that regime, having been elected May 22, 1663, at Providence.

"At a very great meeting and assembly of the freemen of the Colony of Providence Plantations, at Newport, etc., November the 24th, 1663," the box in which the Royal Charter of Charles the Second was sent, was opened, and the famous instrument was read, the broad seal "held up on high" in view of all the people. The first patent of 1643 of Providence Plantations had ended its career and in its place was a great charter which established the Colonial name of the Governor and Company of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay in New England, and a form of Civil Government which continued in operation for 180 years.

The Colonial officers were a Governor, a Deputy Governor and ten Assistants. These with sixteen deputies elected by the towns constituted the lawmaking power, styled in the charter, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. Newport had six deputies elected by freemen; Providence four; Portsmouth four and Warwick four—eighteen in all. The General Assembly was to meet twice a year, in May and October. Benedict Arnold, of Newport, was appointed the first Governor by the Charter. He was also chosen Speaker of the General Assembly at Newport, March 1, 1664.

Two General Courts of Trial were erected to be held in May and October, and constituted the Colonial Judiciary. The Governor or the Deputy Governor and six of the Assistants constituted the Court, styled in the Charter, THE COURT OF MAGISTRATES. This was the Supreme Court of the Colony. This term always relates to the judicial functions of the Upper House.

On the 6th of May, 1696, the Deputies voted to sit by themselves as a House of Deputies, choosing their own Speaker and Clerk, and the

General Assembly thereafter met in two bodies, the Governor, the Deputy and the Assistants constituting THE UPPER HOUSE, and the representatives of the towns, the HOUSE OF DEPUTIES. Col. Rec., p. 313, Vol. III.

The term Magistrates was applied to the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants, as they constituted the magisterial element in the government, in judging and administering the law—the judicial department. By a fiction of terms the body was often called the House of Magistrates, Magistrates or General Court of Trials.

The Deputies, or representatives of the body of freemen of the towns, were with the Magistrates usually called THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, as the Colonial records show. In 1672, it was voted “for the keeping of the Magistrates and Deputies in love together, for the ripening of their consultations and husbanding of their time, the Generall Treasurer shall give order and pay for a convenient dinner for the Magistrates and Deputies in General Assemblies.” As an added encouragement to attend the General Assemblies, the Governor was paid six shillings a day, the Deputy five, the Magistrates four and the Deputies three. For non-attendance, each officer was called upon to pay a fine, double the amount of the pay, unless a satisfactory reason was given. The General Sergeant (High Sheriff) was allowed a commission for services and “three pence a mile out and home for this travill.”

There exists in Massachusetts an official department, styled the Governor and Council, a survival of early Colonial days in that Commonwealth. This body is an old English inheritance, under the title of the Privy Council of the Sovereign, following the CURIA REGIS of the times of Edward I. From 1663 to 1705, this body seems to be recognized in Rhode Island as the equivalent of the *Governor and Assistants*. In the act fixing the tax levy of the Colony, 1698, the enacting clause reads: “Be it enacted by the Governor, Councill and Representatives in this present sessions assembled,” etc., Col. Rec. Vol. III, p. 348. The same appellations are used on pages 349, 351, 354, 356, 360, 382, 389, 390, 391, 450, 459.

In the report of the Earl of Bellamont, on the irregularities in Rhode Island, November 27, 1699, it is stated: “Their General Assembly is constituted of the Governor, Assistants, and Deputies or Representatives for the several towns; the sole power of calling them is vested in the Governor,” etc. “Their General Assembly assumes a judicial power of hearing, trying and determining civil cases,” etc. “Their courts of justice are held by the Governor and Assistants, who sit as judges therein,” etc. “The Assistants or Councillors, who are also Justices of the Peace and Judges of their Courts, are generally Quakers, and sectaries, elected by the prevailing factions among them,” etc.

The first record of a meeting of the two Houses in committee, or grand committee, was on April 30, 1700, at a session of the General Assembly at Newport. A similar session of the "both Houses resolved into one," was held under date of May 1, 1700. At a session of the General Assembly at Newport, February 27, 1712, an act constituting the General Assembly a Court of Chancery was repealed and a regular Court of Chancery was established in accordance with methods and precedents in Great Britain.

From this date, 1726, to the last Colonial General Assembly meeting in the State House at Providence, May, 1776, its duties were purely legislative. The Assembly was made up of two Houses,—the Upper House, consisting of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor and ten Assistants, and the Lower House or House of Deputies, of 64 members in all, representing and elected by the 28 towns.

In 1766, an act was passed regulating the sessions of the General Assembly. By it the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants were "to set apart from the Deputies from the several towns and debate and vote in all public affairs of the Colony and shall be called the UPPER HOUSE. And that the Deputies of the several towns shall also sit, debate and vote in all public affairs, during each session, by themselves, and shall be called the LOWER HOUSE." The Lower House was to elect its own speaker and clerk. It was provided "that when the UPPER and LOWER HOUSES of ASSEMBLY" shall see cause "they may meet in a GRAND COMMITTEE and sit and vote together."

The historic act, declaring Rhode Island and Providence Plantations a free and independent State was passed in the old State House in the Senate chamber, then the Hall of Deputies, with only six dissenting votes, and in the Upper House unanimously, whose hall was on the same floor on the south side of the edifice.

Letter of Gov. Nicholas Cooke to Thomas Cushing, of Watertown, Mass.

The enclosed act passed the *Upper House* unanimously, and the Lower House by a vast majority; there being upwards of sixty members present, and only six votes against it.

Providence, May 6, 1776.

Letter of Gov. Nicholas Cooke to General Washington.

I enclose a copy of an act discharging the inhabitants of this Colony from allegiance to the King of Great Britain, which was carried in the House of Deputies, after a debate, with but six dissentient voices; there being upwards of sixty members present.

An Act.

At a session of the General Assembly held at Newport, 2nd Monday, June, 1776 (June 10), an act empowering the members of the Upper and Lower Houses of Assembly, to tender to such of the inhabitants as are hereinafter mentioned, a declaration, or test, for subscription.

On the 4th of July, 1776, a public Declaration of Independence was made at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, by the representatives of the Thirteen Colonies, assembled in the Continental Congress. On July 18, 1776, the General Assembly of Rhode Island meeting at Newport voted, that "this Assembly, taking into the most serious consideration the resolutions of the Most Honorable, the Continental Congress of the United States of America, of the 4th instant, declaring the said states free and independent states, do approve the same said resolution; and do most solemnly engage that we will support the said General Congress with our lives and fortunes." Public declaration of the Philadelphia resolution and of the action of the Assembly was proclaimed at Newport, the following day, July 19.

As a summary of the above study it may be stated in brief that the evolution of the two Houses, the Senate and House of Representatives has been as follows:

1. All legislation at first took place in open meeting of all the free-men of the Colony, called the *General Assembly*.

2. A representative body was constituted, including the Governor, the Deputy Governor, ten Assistants, and deputies of the several towns. This body was first called the "COURT OF ELECTIONS," later the GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

3. In 1696, the Deputies voted to form a House by themselves. The body was called the House of Deputies or Lower House.

4. The two chief state officers and assistants were styled Governor and Council, and later the Upper House until 1799, when the title Assistant was changed to Senator, and the Upper House was called the Senate, the Governor or Lieutenant Governor presiding. Henry Ward, Secretary of Colony and State from 1760 until his death in 1797, always used the title "Upper House" as applied to what is now the State Senate. Since 1800 or thereabouts, the two branches of the General Assembly have been styled the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Prior to 1698, the General Assembly had met in the large rooms of taverns or private houses in the towns where its sessions were held. In December of that year, a tax of one hundred and sixty pounds was ordered for building a court house in Newport and one in Rochester (now Kingston). In February, 1729-30, the location of a court house in Providence was left to the determination of the town's people, in town meeting. That at Kingston was to be set upon the hill near Robert Case's dwelling house. In 1691, the Assembly ordered an addition to be made to the court house, also a turret, where the bell might be hung. In 1729, the Colony was divided into three counties and the judicial system was revised accordingly, with a court house and jail in each county. In 1733, the General Assembly met for the first time in the new court house at

Kingston Hill. In 1738-39, a new court house was ordered for Newport county. In 1750, Kent county was set off from Providence county, with East Greenwich as the shire town, and the people were required to build their own court house, which they did in 1753. In that year a new court house and jail was built at Kingston and a new jail at Providence. In 1766, an appropriation was made to build a new court house in Bristol on the site of the old one. On December 24, 1758, the court house at Providence was destroyed by fire, and with it a collection of books of the Providence Library Company. A lottery was granted to raise two thousand dollars for a new court house and library. The new court house at Providence and East Greenwich were ordered to be completed in 1776. The court houses in the five counties were the meeting places of the General Assembly in its peripatetic journeys about the Colony, as well as the seats of the county and Colony courts.

At Providence the lower story of the new court house, now known as the "Old State House," was a hall used by the town of Providence for town meetings and other local needs until the purchase of the meeting house on College street and its conversion into a Town House in 1795.

The General Assembly and the Courts held their sessions on the second floor, now occupied in part by the Sixth District Court. Daniel Jenckes and William Wheaton were the committee "to lay the floor, build the stairs and complete two rooms in the chamber, suitable for the General Assembly to sit in," for which two thousand pounds, old tenor, were set apart. In 1843, Judge Staples wrote that "the Legislature and the Courts still hold their sessions in the upper story," that story having been fitted up anew and rendered more convenient and showy than formerly. At the same date the Secretary of State and the clerks of the courts occupied the lower story.

The UPPER HOUSE of the General Assembly met in the chamber on the southern side of the second floor of the "Old State House," and the "LOWER HOUSE" met in the chamber on the north side, the room now occupied by the civil session of the Sixth District Court, Judge Reuckert. It was in this room, on the second floor, that Jonathan Arnold presented the bill to the Lower House for separation of the Colony from Great Britain and where it passed, on May 4, 1776. The tablet placed on the east wall of the room of the criminal session of the Sixth District Court (Judge Gorham) is manifestly out of place and should be transferred to the wall of the north chamber on the next floor above. When it is removed the errors in the names of the two houses of the General Assembly should be corrected to "UPPER HOUSE" and "LOWER HOUSE."

At the autumn session of the General Assembly, 1850, held at East Greenwich, \$7,800 were set aside to "altering and enlarging the State

House at Providence to afford proper accommodations for the General Assembly, the office of the Secretary of State and the Courts, * * * the first floor to be fitted up as a Representative Hall, with two committee or jury rooms at the north end, the present hall (Representatives) to be fitted for the Senate, and the present Senate chamber and lobby to be used for the Secretary of State's office and committee rooms, the entrance and stairs to be in an addition on the west front." The renovated State House was occupied by the General Assembly in 1851. The present fence was built around the grounds on the west front, in 1851, at a cost of \$2,000.

The present State House, on Capitol Hill, was built at a cost of \$3,018,416.33 by Norcross Brothers of Worcester, Massachusetts, under the supervision of McKim, Mead and White of New York, architects. Ground was broken September 16, 1895; the cornerstone laid October 15, 1896, the edifice was occupied by the Secretary of State December, 1900, and by the General Assembly and State officers January 1, 1901.

The most significant inscription adorns the entablature of the south front: "TO HOLD FORTH A LIVELY EXPERIMENT THAT A MOST FLOURISHING CIVIL STATE MAY STAND AND BEST BE MAINTAINED WITH FULL LIBERTY IN RELIGIOUS CONCERNMENTS."

The author was Dr. John Clarke, the sentiment is a quotation from the ROYAL CHARTER of 1663, of which DR. JOHN CLARKE was the author.

The first inscription on the north front should bear date of 1638, instead of 1636. The second statement is in error in stating "INCORPORATED BY PARLIAMENT, 1643." The document was a PATENT signed by eleven commissioners of a body of eighteen, under Robert, Earl of Warwick, Governor in Chief and Lord High Admiral. The title of the Patent was "PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS IN NARRAGANSETT BAY IN NEW ENGLAND."

Around the interior of the dome is a quotation in Latin from Tacitus, the English of which is "RARE FELICITY OF OUR DAY, WHEN IT IS GRANTED YOU TO THINK AS YOU PLEASE AND TO DECLARE WHAT YOU THINK;"—an excellent motto for legislators and people.

In November, 1900, the Constitution was amended in favor of one session of the General Assembly each year, to commence at Providence on the first Tuesday in January of each year. On November 7, 1911, the Constitution was amended, establishing biennial elections for State officers and members of the General Assembly. The veto power is now vested in the Governor, and the Lieutenant Governor is president of the Senate, *ex-officio*.

The Rhode Island Manual, published biennially contains the Charter of 1663, the Constitution of the United States and of Rhode Island, and a fund of information of great value to the citizens of Rhode Island.

CHAPTER XXXIII

EDUCATION



PROVIDENCE PUBLIC LIBRARY, BUILT 1900

CHAPTER XXXIII.

EDUCATION.

The discoverer of the principle of the free common school for all classes and both sexes of children is now unknown. Some claim him to have been a Greek who lived in the pre-Christian time. Others ascribe the honor to England, while others still make strong claim for German, French, and even Roman origin. Whatever the views of theorists and students may be, certain it is that the free common school idea of New England had birth on our own soil, and that all prior attempts were but embryonic developments in preparation for the fullfledged offspring of our original democratic institutions. In its final analysis, the free school is an institution established and supported by a general tax of the State, in which every child, without distinction of race, sex, color, property or any other condition, may obtain a common school education, without a special tax on the parents or guardians for the care and tuition of such child.

The Pilgrim and Puritan settlers of New England came from the most intelligent population then known to the world. England had its ancient endowed schools for the better classes, and the educational standards were of the highest order extant. The schools and the universities of England were the sources of her power and her supremacy in the seventeenth century, and the awakening of discovery, the arts, science and religion, was due to a revival of learning as its chief stimulus. The Anglo-Saxon mind is as fond of knowledge as it is of material power. One is the condition of the other, as well as its hand-maid. Given knowledge and power must follow. Given power, and its continued possession rests on knowledge. The early settlers came to America out of the restless social and political life of England in the year 1620. Few of the first comers were educated people, though all could read and write, and though their chirography was not of the most elegant style, yet to the compact in the "Mayflower," not one person made his mark. All could read the Bible and write legibly. It was the English instinct and intuition that suggested, that in a new land, free from old traditions, the people should all be intelligent in some large measure, in order that the equality of the social status and order should be preserved. They did not care to establish the English feudal system on New England soil. The evils of an hereditary system of rank and wealth were too apparent to be repeated here. They had suffered too much from kings, lords, and nobles to desire to build up an aristocracy of any sort except it were an aristocracy of intelligence and virtue. The most reasonable desire of their hearts then was that their children should have a common heritage of knowledge, although their worldly possessions

were small. The satisfaction of learning would compensate for the loss of the comforts and blessings of the homeland, as well as for the privations and toils of their adopted country. Out of such conditions and thoughts sprang the common school idea of the families of this American State.

When we remember that in English towns there were no free schools and that reading and writing were accomplishments, obtained only at private expense, we can readily forgive the men and women, the founders of towns, who made their marks in their signatures to public documents and we may esteem those who gave us their autographs in almost unintelligible form, the privileged ones in English social life. It is evident from all we can gather that the first settlers were most anxious to give their children the rudiments of an education,—that they should be able to read, write, spell and cipher—the three R's as they were called. Undoubtedly the religious motive inspired this desire in order that the young should be able to read the Bible—the one Book of great value to Puritan and Pilgrim. The old Church of England was satisfied to have the priest read and expound the God's Book. The new church of the people exalted private judgment and personal acquaintance with and judgment on the Divine oracles. As the serious concern for the soul lay deep in the heart and thought of the founders, it was the most reasonable thing to expect them to procure for their children the key of knowledge to open the way to spiritual truth and life, and that the Testament and the shorter catechism should be the text-books of little children.

Whence came the idea of the free school? It is not traceable, but probably sprang out of the inner consciousness of the freedom of religious individualism, coupled with the new freedom of democracy. Transplant a people from a land of hard restraints on their civil and religious life to a wilderness land of unfettered liberty and they soon learn the lessons of a free state, a free church, a free press, free schools—the full heritage of freemen. Never mind how or by whom the free school came. It was the voice of the people that called it into being and in answer to that call it assumed form and comeliness, but not at once. The new comers to a new wilderness land, surrounded by savage beasts and men, must first level forests, build log houses, plant fields, provide food and clothing, build defences, and attend to the numberless details that the maintenance of family and civil life absolutely demanded. The first necessity outside the cabin and the fort was the meeting house for praise, prayer and preaching. The school must wait a bit and in some towns and colonies the school must enlist the favor of the gods in the supply of money, corn or cattle for its support. It might come late, but it was sure to come—some time.

In Rhode Island the quality of the settlers and their financial ability were the occasion of widely different action as to both secular and reli-

gious education of children and youth. The founders of Aquidneck were possessed of good estates and considerable wealth in money. In addition to their comparative good fortune, most of the adult population were educated beyond the average Englishmen of their day. Most of the men were successful merchants and men of affairs in Boston, having had large experience in matters of town and Colony government and sat in council with Winthrop, Endicott, Saltonstall and Vane in affairs temporal and spiritual. If good penmanship be taken as proof of education, the autographs of the signers of the Portsmouth compact entitled their authors to an equal place with the graduates of Brown University. Of the twenty-three signers only one made his mark, and he was one of the wealthiest, most intelligent and most influential of the group—Henry Bull, later Governor of the Colony.

It was at Newport, the centre of wealth, intelligence and culture in Southern New England, that a school was first established in 1640. It might be urged that the Colonial policy to adopt education as a function of the State grew out of the older English policy of a state-church, but this could not be true on Aquidneck, for at no period did the island settlers favor or support a state-church, as did Plymouth and the Bay Colonies. The idea was original with Clarke and Coddington, and to the Newport people must be accorded the high honor of leading this section of New England in free education. The records of the General Court of the Island, under date of August 6, 1640, state that Mr. Robert Lenthal, a clergyman, was made a freeman. Lenthal, it seems, had been under the discipline of the Bay Colony for conduct at Weymouth and had been invited to come to Newport to conduct public worship in place of Dr. John Clarke, and on August 20, 1640, by vote of the town of Newport, Mr. Lenthal was "called to keep a public school for the learning of youth and for his encouragement there was granted to him and his heirs one hundred acres of land and four more for a house lot." It was also voted "that one hundred acres should be laid forth and appropriated for a school, for encouragement of the poorer sort, to train up their youth in learning, and Mr. Robert Lenthal, while he continues to teach school, is to have the benefit thereof." Master Lenthal left Newport for England in 1642, but the school was continued to the credit of the founders of Newport. Richman says "the provision for education so early made at Newport serves once more to emphasize the higher plane, in respect to caste and culture, occupied by the Island settlers as compared with the settlers at Providence." At Providence a reservation of one hundred acres of upland and six acres of meadow was made for the maintenance of a school in 1663, May 9, but it was of no value for school uses for twenty years or more. In 1684 Mr. William Turpin, of Providence, covenanted with William and Lydia Hawkins to furnish one pupil with board and schooling, for one

year, for six pounds sterling; forty shillings of which was to be in beef and pork—pork at two pence and beef at three pence half penny per pound; twenty shillings in corn at two shillings a bushel and the balance in silver money. The boy was to be taught in reading and writing, and if he became as expert a penman as schoolmaster Turpin, he obtained a year's board and schooling at an amazingly small cost. In 1685 Master Turpin asked the town of Providence to set apart the school land for the use and benefit of the schoolmaster, "that the said master (Turpin) or his heirs may be invested in the land so long as he or any of them (his heirs) shall maintain the worthy art of learning." How long Master Turpin maintained "that worthy art of learning" is not shown. It is of record that William Turpin, William Hawkins, John Dexter and others petitioned the town of Providence for a lot of land on Stamper's Hill, on which to build a school house. The land, 40 feet square, was granted, the house built and used for a private school. This is the first school house of record in Providence, and Turpin the first schoolmaster. It is probable that Turpin opened a tavern on the Main street in 1687, for on December 14 of that year, not appearing to take a license, he was suspended from keeping a victualling house or selling strong liquors. He died 1709.

In 1735 George Taylor was granted leave to teach a private school in the chamber of the county court house on North Main street, in Providence. He was the second schoolmaster of record in the town.

On the division of the warehouse lots, on the west side of North Main street, Providence, a lot was set apart for a school house, opposite the west end of the court house parade. At some time before 1752 a house had been built on this lot, for, in that year, Nicholas Cooke, Joseph Olney, Esek Hopkins, Elisha Brown and John Mawney were chosen "to have the care of the town school house, and to appoint a master to teach in said house." The next year the school house was leased to Stephen Jackson, schoolmaster, for three months from March 1. Again, in 1763, the town clerk was directed to lease the house, the schoolmaster receiving all his compensation from his pupils and paying to the town a fixed rental for the room.

In 1751 leading citizens on the west side of the river, at Providence, had permission to build a school house, on vacant land on Broad street, at private cost.

After the burning of the county court house on North Main street, in 1758, the town of Providence wished to exchange the school house lot for a part of the court house lot. In 1765 the school lot and house were sold and a part of the court house lot bought by the town for school uses.

It was in the sixties of this century that the public school idea began to find expression at Providence. Three conditions had prevented its action in Northern Rhode Island—the separation of the people, their nar-

row financial ability, and the low standard of literacy among the farmer and industrial classes. The educational demands were very small, even those who taught the private schools having only the simplest rudiments of the studies they were expected to teach. The new order and ideal began at Providence, where the merchant class had begun to accumulate wealth and the free school plan came under discussion by the leading citizens. Among those who took the lead in advocacy of public schools should be named, Nicholas Cooke, John Mawney, Esek and Stephen Hopkins, Moses Brown, Nicholas Brown, Elisha Brown, Elijah Tillinghast, Daniel Abbott, Jabez Bowen, Darius Sessions, Samuel Nightingale, John Jencks, Nathaniel Greene, Samuel Thurber, Thomas Angell, Gideon Comstock, James Field, Barzillai Richmond, Nehemiah Sprague, Joseph Olney and others, leading citizens of wealth and intelligence.

On December 8, 1767, the town of Providence in town meeting voted to build three school houses for small children and one for youth, to provide instructors and pay the bills from the town treasury, the schools to be under the supervision of a school committee. This was the first act of the town of Providence to establish free schools, supported by a tax on all the property of the people. The preamble of a report written by Lieutenant-Governor Jabez Bowen, addressed to the voters of Providence, expresses the rising sentiment of the progressive class: "The education of youth, being a thing of the first importance to every society, as thereby the minds of the rising generation are formed to virtue, knowledge and useful literature, and a succession of able and useful men are produced, with suitable qualifications for serving their country with ability and faithfulness; and, institutions of this nature are the more useful by how much the more liberal and free the enjoyment of them is."

The report recommended to the freemen of Providence the building of four school houses in the compact part of the town; that the schools shall be furnished with masters at the expense of the town; that a school committee be chosen annually to have control of all affairs of the schools; that every inhabitant of the town shall have and enjoy an equal right and privilege of sending their own children and the children of any others under their care for instruction and bringing up to any or all of said schools, and that each and every scholar, before admission shall have learned his letters and acquired some acquaintance with spelling; that not over two hours be taken up, daily, in perfecting the scholars in reading, accenting, pronouncing and properly understanding the English tongue; that the other school hours shall be employed in teaching the children and youth in writing, arithmetic, the various branches of mathematics, and the learned languages; that the masters in the school should not engage in any other business that might "impede the due instruction of youth under their care" and that they keep a strict, but not passionate and severe disci-

pline; for raising a laudable emulation for excellence in the various branches of learning, the masters were allowed to confer honorary marks of favor and distinction; children of non-residents were to be admitted by the payment of twelve shillings to the school tax annually.

These were a part of the liberal provisions of a free school proposal submitted to the freeholders of the town of Providence, January 1, 1768, and, strange to say, the whole plan was rejected by the voters. The report of the committee of able and public-spirited men was tabled and the freemen voted, instead, to build "one brick school house, thirty feet by forty, and two stories high, near the court house, out of the proceeds of the old school house lot, sold in 1765, and a tax of one hundred pounds, provided the sum of £182.17 should be raised by private subscription for the same object." The school house was built; the town of Providence owned the ground floor—proprieters the second story. The town opened a school below and the proprietors above, and two schools were thus established and continued in the town until near the opening of the nineteenth century, to the great discredit of the town and the extreme mortification of the best people. The divisive, parsimonious, anti-educative spirit of old Providence held sway for more than a century and a half from the founding of the town, fully justifying Mr. Richman's declaration: "By Providence was symbolized individualism, both religious and political, a force centrifugal, disjunctive and even disruptive." Staples tells us that on the west side of the river, at the time of the free school agitation in Providence, there were one hundred and two houses, nine hundred and eleven inhabitants, including one hundred and eight-nine fit for schooling, between the ages of five and fourteen.

Moses Brown, the venerable historic philosopher, in his Quaker honesty appends the following note to the manuscript report of Governor Bowen: "1768, Laid before the town by the Committee, but a number of the inhabitants (and what is most surprising and remarkable, the plan of a Free School, supported by a tax was rejected by the POORER SORT of the people) being strangely led away not to see their own as well as the public interest therein (by a few objectors at first) either because they were not the projectors, or had not public spirit to execute so laudable a design, and which was first voted by the town with great freedom." The old brick school house of 1768 still stands on Meeting street, Providence, near the old State house and the Quaker meeting house as a monument of the divided and misguided public opinion of the town of Providence in the middle of the eighteenth century. It is the oldest school house in the State and has been in constant use for one hundred and fifty years. At one period it was the only school for negro children on the east side of the river.

The free school established at Newport in 1640, under Master Rob-

ert Lenthal, was, so far as public records may be trusted, the first of its class in New England and possibly in the world. The only claimant for the honor that can support a worthy argument is Boston, in the Bay Colony. So far as our studies extend, the Boston free school was not wholly free, while that at Newport required no fee of the pupils. As the school began it continued. Mr. Arnold states that in 1710 "schools and highways received much attention. The public school was placed in charge of the town council, and a place was provided for Mr. Galloway to open a Latin school."

In 1716 the freemen of Portsmouth, in disposing of vacant lands in the south part of that town, "having considered how excellent an ornament learning is to mankind, and the great necessity there is in building of a public school house on said south side," made an appropriation for a school house and chose a committee to build it. This record implies that a public school had been established in the north part of the town, the seat and centre of the first settlement of 1638.

The golden age of education in Newport began with the coming of George Berkeley, dean of Derry and bishop of Cloyne, in January, 1730.

Pope has accorded, "To Berkeley, every virtue under Heaven." And he certainly fulfilled a great mission of education, philanthropy and religion during his brief stay on Aquidneck. His reputation as a writer and philosopher was world-wide. He early became interested in the conversion of the savages of North America to Christianity and, coming into large wealth, he planned to erect a college in the Bermudas for the education of Indian youth. The Queen offered him a bishopric, which he declined, saying he would rather be the master of St. Paul's College at Bermuda than the primate of all England. With the success of his Catholic Christian plan in prospect he wrote the celebrated ode, "Westward the Course of Empire takes its way." A corps of artists and literary men accompanied Berkeley to Newport, among whom was the eminent painter, Smibert, who became the teacher of Copley and West, and through another pupil, of Stuart. Berkeley built a home called Whitehall, where he wrote *Alciphron*, printed in Newport by the Franklins,—James and Benjamin,—who had established a printing house and founded *THE MERCURY*—a newspaper still published, the first in the Colony.

Bishop Berkeley gathered about him a body of congenial men, educated, cultivated and inspired with high ideals. It was a school of philosophic, scientific and literary study and investigation. Books were collected, read and gathered together as the nucleus of the great Redwood Library of Newport. Ambitious young men, fond of study, found their way to Newport to satisfy their strong desires for knowledge and culture. The Berkeleyan educational magnet drew the choice spirits from all parts of the

Colony and charged them with new force for the great demands of the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary periods.

Stephen Hopkins was one of the young men who found at Newport guidance and inspiration for the great task of patriots. Samuel Ward, William Ellery and William Channing felt the formative influence of the Berkeley school.

One of the members of this select society of scholars and students was Edward Scott, the granduncle of Sir Walter Scott, who had been master of the grammar school at Newport, the first classical school established in Rhode Island. Berkeley's design to found a college at Bermuda failed for want of funds promised but withheld by the English government. Instead, his liberal gifts to Harvard and Yale universities testify still to his love of classical learning, while Whitehall preserves to this day the social, literary, philosophical and religious atmosphere of the Berkeley period at Newport. The State has reason to be proud that George Berkeley was once a freeman and fulfilled in largest measure a freeman's obligations in the town he called his home, surrounded by a group of men and women whom he loved and to whom he taught some great lessons in the school of life. No Colony of the old thirteen enjoyed the influence of a greater mind and a purer soul in forces spiritual and still alive in our own remote time.

As the possession and use of books in the family are strong evidence as to the intelligence and educational spirit of the owners, it is a matter of great interest to study the inventories of the early settlers of Rhode Island. It is usually assumed that most of the families had a copy of the Bible or a Testament, but the records of at least three-fourths of the families do not sustain the assumption that every home had a Bible.

Thomas Barnes (1719), of Swansea, now Barrington, had books to the value of £2. Inventory, £2497.

James Andrew (1716), had two Bibles, a sermon book, a mariner book and two story books.

Peter Ayrault (1705); old books, £1, 3s.

Gabriel Bernon (1736); books and six large maps.

William Blackstone (1675), three Bibles, 10s.; six English books in folio, £2, 10s.; three Latin books in folio, 15s.; eight biggest books, £2; fifteen quarto books, £1, 17s., 6p.; fourteen small books in quarto, 14s.; thirty books in large octavo, £4; twenty-five small books, £1, 15s.; twenty-two duodecimos, £1, 15s.; fifty-three small books, without cover, 13s.; 10 paper books, 5s.

William Carpenter, Rehoboth (1659); a Bible and Practice of Piety.

Caleb Carr, Governor (1694); new great Bible.

Captain Benjamin Church (1718); books, £2.

Dr. John Clarke (1676); "A Concordance and Lexicon to it written by myself, a Hebrew Bible and the rest of books," to Richard Bailey; "profits of farm * * * for relief of the poor and the bringing up of Children unto learning."

Arthur Fenner (1706); a book called *The Statute*, £2, 10s.

Arthur Fenner (1724), had "one Greate Bible, one small Bible, a Testament and two more large Bookes with sum small bookes" worth £5, 15s., 6p.

Thomas Olney, Sen. (1722) had "55 Bookes which are bound and 23 small Bookes not bound."

Major William Hopkins (1723) had "one Bible, one Law Booke and Sundry small Bookes" of the value £2, 7s.

Resolved Waterman (1719); a great Bible and several small books, £5, 15s. 6p. A Bible and Testament by first wife, 12s.

Obadiah Brown, (died 1716); two books, one Bible and other books, 14s. 6p.

Joseph Jenckes (1717), four old books, 11s. 6p.; an old Bible, 4s. Total, 15s. 6p.

William Corbett (1718); two old Bibles and Psalm book, 1s., 6p.

Pardon Tillinghast (1718); books and silver spoon, £1.

Nathaniel Mowry (1718); an old Bible and four old books, 7s.

Thomas Fenner (1718); a Bible, half a statute book, a book called Dalton and several other books, £4, 3s.

John Paine (1718); one Bible and sundry old books.

James Rogers (1719); his books, 5s.

Stephen Arnold (1720); books, £20.

Major William Crawford (1720); books, £13.

Lott Tripp; Bible, Testament and small books, 15s.

John Angell (1720); a Bible, 10s.; a negro woman, £30.

Dr. John Jenckes, 1721; Phisick books, 18s.; one Bible, £1, 1s. Total £1, 19s. Four books, £1; fourteen books, £1.

Samuel Gorton (1723); had books of the value of 12s.

Captain Nathaniel Jenckes (1723); had "a Greate Bible and other Books" valued at £2, 15s.

Edward Manton (1723); had "a hundred Bookes," value £17, 15s.

Joseph Williams, son of Roger (1724); had books to the value of 16s.

John Yates (1724); left "a Old Bible and three Other Old Books."

Andrew Harris (1725); had books valued at £13, 4s. 6p.

Lieutenant William Harris (1726); had books worth £1, 8s.

Thomas Willett (1674); had among his books "Pilgrimage in Hol-land," "General Practice of Physic," "Luther's Table Talk," Allen's "Doc-trine of the Gospel," "Holy War," "Smith's Voyages," "Heber's Episcopal Policy," "Heber's Cosmography," "History of New England," "Wilson's Dictionary," "Calvin's Harmony."

William Harris (1682); had two Bibles, and, among other books, were "London Dispensatory," "The Chirurgeon's Mate," "Norwood's Tri-angles," "Contemplations Moral and Divine," "The Competent Clerk," "The Touchstone of Wills" and "Coke's Commentary on Littleton."

The study of many itemized inventories in Rhode Island probate record offices do not impress one as to the high literary qualifications of the men of the early Colonial period, while the books, outside the Bible, had no value for child education, and were relish only for strong-minded men and women, as evidenced by the titles quoted.

All their books of the early years were English in author and publisher. The narrow financial circumstances of the settlers made narrow possessions of books, but those which were owned were undoubtedly well read. In fact, the Bible was not only the best read book among the New England colonists, it was memorized by parents and children—a veritable text-book of life, of manners, of morals, of poetry, of history, of biography, of the saving truths of religion and man's duties to his Maker. Through the eighteenth, most of the nineteenth, and even into the twentieth century, the Bible has been daily read by teachers and pupils of most schools, public and private, and in many, for the whole period, some form of prayer, extemporaneous or the Lord's Prayer, accompanied the Bible reading and the singing of spiritual, moral or patriotic hymns at the opening exercises of the schools. Devotional exercises of Bible reading and prayer are still sustained in Brown University, in most private schools of all grades and in all Roman Catholic parochial schools. In Catholic institutions of all grades emphasis is laid on the moral and religious education of the child and much time and attention are given to the forms and spiritual idealism of their faith.

It may be safely stated that few books published prior to the nineteenth century had any educational value for children and youth. Exceptions should be made in favor of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism and "Mother Goose Melodies." The first was unpopular and of little value save as an expositor of the Calvinistic faith. The second has been the popular nursery rhyme book for two hundred years and still lives to bless little children. The opening years of the nineteenth century revealed an ability of a few men and women to write attractive and healthful reading for children and youth. Washington Irving was really the founder of American literature which instructed and satisfied the adult and youthful mind in such books as "The History of New York from the Beginning of the World," "Rip Van Winkle," "Life of Columbus" and "Life of Washington." Through such books the healthy mental appetite of youth was satisfied. The educational literature of the last hundred years would require a volume of prodigious size to compass. Reference can only be made to the "Rollo Books" and the "Lucy Books" by Jacob Abbott, which led the way in a healthy fiction for boys and girls, and grown people as well.

Concerning school text-books of the early day, little can be said, for they were very few, even into the nineteenth century.

Reading and writing were the principal subjects taught in the first common schools of New England, the Bible being the text-book in reading. One pupil tells us that he had read his Bible through thrice before he was seven years old. The New England Primer and Dilworth's Spell-

ing Book were also used. The master set sums in manuscript books, but did not go further than the Rule of Three.

"In the town of Swansea, now Barrington, in part, in 1673, it was voted *nem. con.* that a school be forthwith set up in this Town for the teaching of Grammar, Rhetoric and Arithmetic, and the tongues of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, also to read English and to write, and that a salary of £40 per annum in current county pay, which passeth from man to man, be duly paid from time to time, and at all times hereafter to the schoolmaster thereof, and that Mr. John Myles, the present pastor of the Church here assembling be the schoolmaster, otherwise to have power to dispose the same to an able schoolmaster during the said pastor's life."

The "Horn-book" was a simpler book for beginners than the New England Primer, which in its later editions contained the catechisms of John Cotton and that of the Westminster Assembly. The hornbook was so called on account of its horn cover, which rendered it indestructible from without. Shakespeare calls it the "teacher of boys" in his time, and it was used in Massachusetts and other parts of New England a little over a hundred years ago. "He does not know his hornbook," was equivalent to "he does not know his letters." A single book would often serve two or three generations of children of the same family, so carefully were those early text books used and handed down from parents to children.

The early schoolhouses were very simple wooden structures, with long wooden benches and desks, heated from open fire places at the end of the room opposite the door, so far as it could be said to have been heated at all, the wood for fuel furnished by the patrons of the school in lieu of money for the support of the school, the fires built by the larger boys, and the house swept and otherwise kept clean by the larger girls—these were some of the conditions of that early school life of our ancestors two centuries ago. In fact, matters had but little altered in the early part of this century for Edward Everett in an address at Faneuil Hall, Boston, in 1855, speaks thus of the "old school house" of 1804. "It contained but one room, heated in the winter by an iron stove, which sent up a funnel into a curious brick chimney, built down from the roof, in the middle of the room, to within seven or eight feet of the floor, being like Mahomet's coffin, held in the air to the roof by bars of iron. The boys had to take their turns, in winter, in coming early to the schoolhouse, to open it, to make a fire, sometimes of wet logs in a very inadequate supply of other combustibles, to sweep out the room, and, if need be, to shovel a path through the snow to the street. These were not very fascinating duties for an urchin of ten or eleven; but we lived through it, and were perhaps not the worse for having to turn our hands to these little offices."

The first truant school established in fact in America, originated in the following vote in Salem, Massachusetts, December, 1673. "As five men neglected to have their children instructed and brought up to some useful calling, our selectmen advertise that such children should be put out to service."

The crowning educational event in Rhode Island of the eighteenth century was the founding of Rhode Island College, now Brown University. This institution of higher education had its birth in the minds and hearts of men and women of the Baptist faith, who began to demand an educated ministry for their churches, in order that the denomination might hold its own in the educational equipment of its ministers, with the clergy of the Pilgrim and Puritan Congregational and Presbyterian faiths, who had Harvard, Yale and Princeton colleges as the feeders of their pulpits, "with learned, pious, orthodox ministers." The birth-place of the college was in Hopewell Academy, New Jersey, founded in 1756 "for the education of youth for the ministry." It was at this academy that James Manning, the first President of the College, and Rev. John Gano, an associate, were educated. David Howell, later a professor in the college and a distinguished jurist was a student of Hopewell. The success of the Academy encouraged leading Baptists to erect a college in some colony which would be practically under the government and instruction of Baptists. In seeking the right place for such an institution, Rhode Island was chosen, for the reason that this colony was the strong-hold of Baptists in New England. Rev. Morgan Edwards, of Philadelphia, was the chosen leader, who, as he says, "labored hard to settle a Baptist college in the Rhode Island Government, and to raise money to endow it." Backus writes it was found "practicable and expedient to erect a college in the Colony of Rhode Island, under the chief direction of the Baptists, wherein education might be promoted, and superior learning obtained, free of any sectarian religious tests. Mr. James Manning, who took his first degree in New Jersey, in September, 1762, was esteemed a suitable leader in this important work."

In 1763, the town of Warren, then including the present town of Barrington, had within its bounds about sixty Baptist communicants, the majority of whom were members of the ancient John Myles Church of old Swansea. These Baptists decided to form a separate church at Warren and build a meeting house in their own neighborhood. Under date of February 17, 1764, the congregation at Warren invited Rev. James Manning to be its pastor and the call was accepted. His ability and eloquence attracted the people and a church of 58 members was organized and a parsonage built the same year. Mr. Manning opened a Latin school at Warren, which was continued until 1770, when it was removed to Provi-



James Manning

dence and was known as the University Grammar School, fitting students for the college.

Leading Baptists of Rhode Island endorsed the movement of the Philadelphia Association for the founding of a denominational college in this Colony. In July, 1763, Mr. Manning and Rev. James Sutton visited Newport to consult with several Baptist gentlemen, Col. John Gardner, the Deputy Governor, being one, "relative to a seminary of Polite Literature, subject to the government of the Baptists." Fifteen gentlemen met at Colonel Gardner's house, among whom were Hon. Josiah Lyndon, Col. Job Bennett, Gov. Samuel Ward, Dr. Thomas Eyres and the three Baptist pastors of the town. As a result of this meeting a committee was chosen, consisting of Gov. Lyndon and Col. Bennett to make a draft of a charter for a college to be laid before the next General Assembly. Lyndon and Bennett conferred with Rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D., later the distinguished president of Yale College, at that time pastor of the Congregational church at Newport. Dr. Stiles, assisted by Hon. William Ellery, one of the signers of the Declaration of American Independence, drew up the form of a charter and a petition to the General Assembly, both of which met the approval of the Rhode Island gentlemen already mentioned, interested in the college plan. Mr. Manning was not present at the meeting when the Stiles charter was adopted and we have no report of the discussion which took place. It appears, however, that in the matter of the government of the institution, the Stiles draft gave the Baptists a majority in the board of trustees and the Congregationalists a majority of the fellows. As Baptist control of the proposed institution was demanded by the Baptists, and a vital feature of their plan, it must be believed that the dual plan of Dr. Stiles was carefully considered by the body of reviewers for the petition to the General Assembly, for the charter, as drawn and amended, was signed by sixty-one prominent Rhode Islanders, "after carefully considering and revising it." Among the names are those of Samuel Ward, Josias Lyndon, William Ellery, John Gardner, Job Bennett, Rev. Gardner Thurston, John Tillinghast, Oliver Arnold, Rev. Joshua Clarke, Rev. Gardner Thurston, Caleb Gardner, William Vernon and others, prominent Baptists and Congregationalists. It has been charged that Dr. Stiles, in his draft, exceeded his express instructions to establish a Baptist college, under control of the Baptists. It must be acknowledged that Dr. Stiles, one of the most eminent and learned ministers of New England Congregationalists, of Puritan orthodoxy, had a hard task assigned him to draft a charter for a Baptist denominational college, more especially at Newport, where the great principle of civil and religious liberty was first given free and full expression. In his mind, the institutions of education were not to be confined in denominational bounds or

conducted by sectarian agents. A broader policy was set forth in the draft, which gave to the Congregational body, the strongest in New England, and the one most devoted to liberal education, an equal voice in the control of the college. The insertion of this provision is attributed to Dr. Stiles, and it is to his great honor as an educator and statesman. Certain it is that it did not escape the careful scrutiny of the men who first met to consider with Mr. Manning the establishment of a school of liberal learning. Many of them were leading Baptists, others were men high in the Colonial councils and government and were familiar with the purposes of the Baptists, but all saw what to them seemed the wiser policy—a policy which has been confirmed for its wisdom by the whole history of the college.

The petition and charter were presented to the General Assembly, meeting at Newport, August, 1763, and the acceptance of the petition and granting the charter were urged by Mr. Ellery and others, but was opposed by Mr. Daniel Jenckes of Providence, a prominent Baptist and son of Rev. Ebenezer Jenckes, once pastor of the First Baptist church, Providence. Mr. Jenckes stated that the charter as read did not establish a Baptist college as the promoters expected and asked delay for further consideration and amendment, which was granted. In the debate which followed, bitter words were said on both sides, for and against a sectarian Baptist college, and the charter failed of adoption at this session. At the next session of the Assembly at South Kingstown, a second and revised charter was presented which gave the absolute control of the college to the Baptists. This charter was fought strenuously on the same general lines as was the first and failed of adoption. At a session of the General Assembly held at the Court House in East Greenwich, February, 1764, a second revised draft of a charter was presented, discussed, amended and finally enacted. As a majority of the Assembly were Baptists, it is difficult to understand why the charter failed on the second trial and met with such success on the third. The most satisfactory explanation is found in the concessions made to the Quakers and Episcopalians, so that of the thirty-six trustees, twenty-two should be Baptists, five Friends or Quakers, four Congregationalists and five Episcopalians. The Board of Fellows was made up of twelve members, eight of whom were Baptists and the other four of any other denominations. The original draft of Dr. Stiles gave the Congregationalists eight in the Fellowship, for which, in the adopted charter eight Baptists were substituted. The Congregationalists were reduced to the lowest position, having only four members in the governing body, while the Baptists had thirty members out of forty-eight in the two bodies, styled the Corporation of Rhode Island College.

Among the declarations of the charter of greatest moment were these:

Into this liberal and catholic institution shall never be admitted any religious tests.

On the contrary, all the members hereof shall forever enjoy full, free, absolute and uninterrupted liberty of conscience.

The places of professors, tutors and all other officers, the president alone excepted, shall be free and open for all denominations of Protestants.

Youth of all religious denominations shall and may be freely admitted to the equal advantages, emoluments, and honors of the college or university; and shall receive a like fair, generous and equal treatment, during their residence therein, they conducting themselves peaceably, and conforming to the laws and statutes thereof.

The public teaching shall, in general respect the sciences, and the sectarian differences of opinions shall not make any part of the public and classical instruction.

The *Providence Gazette*, March 10, 1764, has the following brief reference to the incorporation of Rhode Island College:

During the session a charter was presented for erecting a college in this government which was granted, *nemine contradicente*. [Such an institution, upon a catholic plan, will be productive of infinite benefit to the community, and must reflect the highest honor on its patrons and encouragers].

The first meeting of the corporation, trustees and fellows of the college met at Newport, September, 1764, when twenty-four gentlemen took the oath of office prescribed by the charter and elected Hon. Stephen Hopkins, a Quaker, chancellor, John Tillinghast, treasurer, and Dr. Thomas Eyres, secretary, both Baptists.

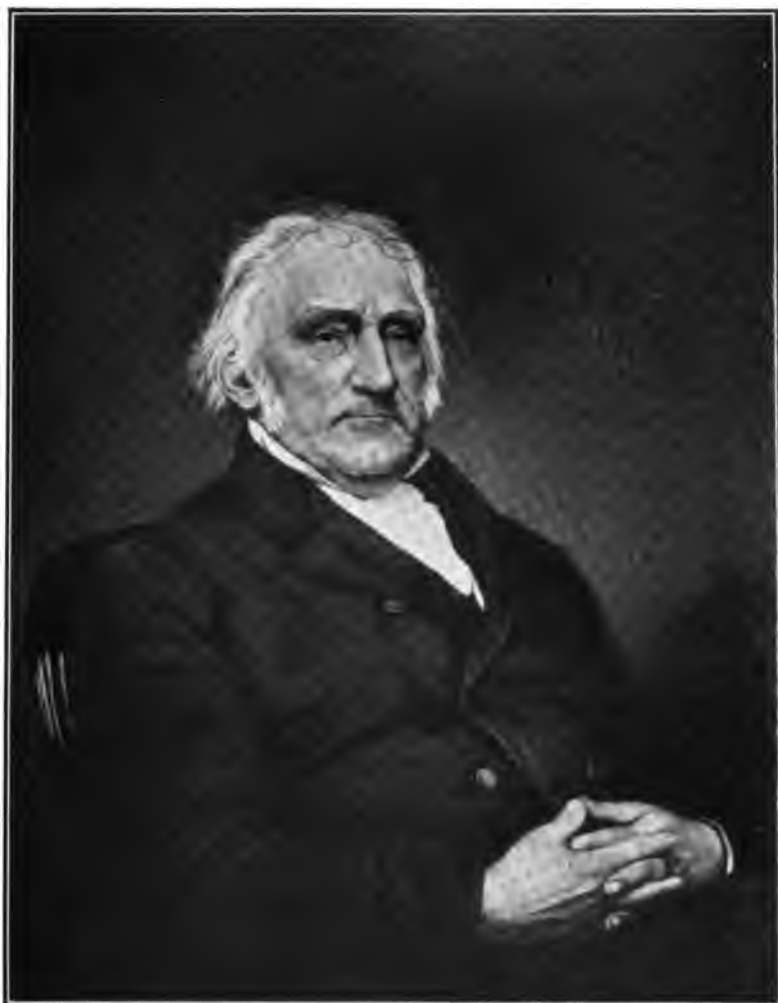
At the second annual meeting of the corporation, September, 1765, Rev. James Manning, of Warren, was chosen "President of the College, Professor of Languages and other Branches of Learning, with full power to act immediately in these capacities at Warren or elsewhere."

Seven members constituted the first class that graduated from Rhode Island College, at the first commencement exercises held at Warren, September 7, 1769. Two of the class won distinction—William Rogers, a native of Newport, Rhode Island, was distinguished as a preacher and teacher, and James M. Varnum, as a lawyer, military commander in the Revolution, member of Continental Congress, and judge of the Northwest Territory, achieved high national honors.

In 1769 leading citizens in Warren, Newport, Westerly, East Greenwich and Providence, seeing a future for the college, discussed the erection of a building for its housing, and directly the north and south parts of the State were arrayed against each other in their claims for its location. The Brown brothers of Providence led by Moses, the founder of the Friends' School, naturally led the party for locating the college at

Providence. Ward, Ellery, Redwood, Babcock and many others fought for its location at Newport. The contest was warm, even to passion and bitterness. Manning favored Providence as the proper home for the college, and although the actual money pledges of Newport and the south part of the State exceeded those of Providence and the north, the decision as to the location was rendered by a vote of twenty-one in favor of Providence to fourteen for Newport. Mr. Guild, Mr. Manning's historian, justifies the final vote "INTERPRETATION," as applied to the factors on which the decision rested. Rhode Island College was removed to Providence and President Manning had won his second victory. The story of the charter and location is told by Dr. Reuben A. Guild in "Brown University and James Manning"—a book well worth reading for the knowledge it gives of the early years of struggle for Rhode Island College, which, in 1804, became Brown University by a liberal donation of Nicholas Brown, of Providence.

Reference has been made to the catholicity of the charter of Brown University, and its liberal provisions have been admired, followed and studied in the founding of similar institutions of learning. As it is a Baptist institution in government, it has been assumed that its charter was of Baptist origin and authorship, which is not true. No Baptist of that period could or would have penned so remarkable an educational document. The charter of Brown University is an educational Declaration of Independence. In it appears the doctrine of soul liberty of Dr. John Clarke and the statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson. As the Rhode Island charter of 1663 leads all declarations and definitions of civil rights, not excepting Magna Charta, so the charter of Rhode Island College, 1764, expressed in clear, vigorous and comprehensive language the doctrines of rights, duties, privileges and emoluments of the student and scholar, in advance of any similar document in human history. By that charter the corporation of the college was made the guardian of the student life of multitudes of youth, no one of whom, from the days of Manning to our own, has ever been made conscious of the least interference with individual freedom in things, temporal, educational or spiritual. Rhode Island College has been an Absolute Democracy, social, intellectual, spiritual. Gentile and Jew, bond and free, Christian and Heathen, have found a broad educational platform of beliefs, thought and practice on which all could stand, without jostling. Its sole author was Rev. Ezra Stiles, D. D., pastor of the Second Congregational Church, Newport, Rhode Island, from 1755 to 1777, and president of Yale College from 1778 to 1795, the date of his death. Dr. Stiles received the title, "the most learned American of his age," and Mr. Bartlett says: "In the extent and variety of his acquirements he was probably the most accomplished scholar in this



H. Weyland

President of Brown University, 1826

country in the times in which he lived." The original draft of the charter, in the handwriting of Dr. Stiles, now in the possession of the Corporation of Brown University, has never been printed, as it sometime must be. It is well known that Dr. Stiles was severely criticised by Rev. Mr. Edwards and other Baptists, for "treachery" in not following the instructions of Mr. Manning in making a Baptist college. The fact is that Dr. Stiles made it a Baptist college and more—he builded an interdenominational college on that foundation. A comparison of the original and the amended drafts of the charter shows the narrowing action of the Baptists of that period, the result of which was to alienate the whole Congregational body of Rhode Island towards Rhode Island College, and the injury to the student and financial interests of the college is felt even at the present time. The instrument drawn by Dr. Stiles illustrated his broad and liberal views of higher education, his catholic and democratic ideas as to instruction and government and his statesmanship in anticipating the day when sectarian bias and narrow partisanship would give way to the confederacy of learning as wrought out in the World Parliament of Wise Men. Dr. Ezra Stiles, in his conception of a college for Rhode Island was just two centuries in advance of his times as measured by Rhode Island time.

The academies of Rhode Island as well as the college antedated the common or free school. These schools prepared their students for the duties of intelligent citizenship, for the fulfillment of the services of town officers and in some instances were feeders of the college. Most of the State and town officers and members of the General Assembly of the second century of our Colonial life had been under some measure of academic instruction. The poverty of the people appeared in the modest buildings that housed teachers and scholars, yet within bare and homely walls protected youth, whose ambitions far outran their privileges, who mastered the elementary branches and gained the power to acquire more in the practical affairs of life. Between the years 1764 and 1865, twenty institutions of an academy grade received charters from the General Assembly of Rhode Island. The first was the University Grammar School, opened at Warren by James Manning in the spring of 1764, and removed to Providence with the college in 1770. Manning called it a Latin school, although he adds "a complete knowledge of grammar," and "spelling, reading and speaking English with propriety." "Such attention will be paid to their learning and morals as will entirely satisfy." Manning had twenty boys as pupils in a room in the college. In 1786 this school removed to the brick school house, now standing on Meeting street. Greek and Latin were taught at 24 shillings per quarter; English at 16 shillings. About 1800, the school came back under the shadow of the

college, a building was erected and the school was made to do preparatory work for such freshmen, which was continued for a century under able instructors. From 1845 to 1870, it had enrolled 837 students in the English and Classical departments. Merrick Lyon, Henry S. Frieze and Emory Lyon were the most eminent teachers.

Kingston Academy had its origin in Boston, in 1695, when Samuel Sewall of that town conveyed 500 acres of land in Pettaquamscutt to John Walley for "supporting and maintaining a learned, sober and orthodox person to instruct the children and youth * * * to read and write the English language, and the rules of grammar." Nothing was done till 1781, when a school house was built on Tower Hill and schoolmasters began to be employed. In 1819, the Academy was removed to Kingston Village and, in 1823, was incorporated as the Pettaquamscutt Academy. In 1826 its name was changed to Kingston Academy. In 1833, it had 137 students, when Elisha R. Potter, later State Commissioner of Public Schools, was classical instructor. The last catalogue in 1854 named 78 students for the year. The studies were Latin, Greek, Arithmetic, Algebra, Bookkeeping, Navigation, Surveying, Geometry, Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, and Moral Philosophy. The total expense for a pupil in English studies was about \$84 a year, including board at \$1.50 per week; in classical studies \$91.

The Friends' School has been and continues to be one of the most influential of the secondary schools of Rhode Island and came into being, mainly, by the acts of that eminent citizen and friend of sound learning, Moses Brown, the youngest of the four Brown brothers, of Providence. In 1780, Mr. Brown contributed liberally towards a separate school for the children of Quakers, taught by Quakers, when the Quaker doctrines could be freely taught. Such a school was opened at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, where it continued for four years, under Isaac Lawton as teacher, when it was suspended for want of money, in a period of great financial stringency after the Revolutionary War. Mr. Brown continued firm in the purpose to establish a school for Friends and jealously guarded the moneys he could raise, so that when the school was opened in Providence, the fund was \$9,300. In 1814, he set apart 43 acres of land in Providence for educational uses and money to increase the endowment to \$20,000. Buildings were erected on the land donated and the Yearly Meeting Boarding School was opened in 1819, and has continued in increasing educational value and efficiency. Its official name is *The Moses Brown School* and had an enrollment of 290 students of both sexes in 1917.

In 1822, Moses Brown's son, Obadiah, gave the school \$100,000, the largest sum of money which any institution of learning in America had at that time received, and this money had been made by the manufacture

of cotton, an industry established by his father in connection with Samuel Slater, who came to Rhode Island by Mr. Brown's encouragement.

While the Moses Brown School is under the management of Friends, it has always been and continues to be unsectarian in its membership, policy and spirit. While strictly loyal to the purposes and principles of the founder, it has been mindful of the progress of society and kindred institutions and has shaped its administration and instruction to the demands and duties of the new age. Following a conservative policy, the school has won to its patronage the best of city and country scholarship, while its faculty has been wise in discipline, scholarly in instruction and forceful in moral power. Instruction is given in all the subjects that are taught in Brown University. Graduates of the school are accredited to college without examinations.

Washington Academy was chartered in 1800, and was located at Wickford, on the demand of leading citizens of Newport, Providence and Warwick for an institution where young men could be trained for teaching. It was called "a liberal and catholic institution," with "absolute liberty of conscience," "the places of instructors free to all denominations" and "youth of all religious denominations" were to "receive alike fair, generous and equal treatment." In addition to the usual English branches, the higher mathematics, navigation, surveying and astronomy were taught. One pupil, Jeremiah Chadsey, was so well instructed in astronomy that he made an almanac, with all the usual calculation for the year. In 1848, this Academy became a public school of the town.

Kent Academy, later East Greenwich, located in this interesting and historic town, was incorporated in 1802, "to promote the good of mankind," and "of introducing a settled minister of the gospel to preach in the meeting house, which is now so seldom improved." Mr. Abner Alden, the first principal, was considered "an ideal schoolmaster." In 1840, the Academy was purchased by the Providence Conference of Methodists and since that date has been a fitting school for college. Among its principals, the more noted have been George W. Greene, Rev. Albert Allyn, Rev. Micah J. Talbot, Rev. James T. Edwards, and Rev. F. D. Blakeslee. Its graduates include William Sprague, Governor of Rhode Island and United States Senator; Nelson W. Aldrich, United States Senator; Chief Justices of Supreme Court of Rhode Island, Charles Matteson, and Pardon E. Tillinghast; Lieutenant-Governors Henry T. Sisson and Enos Lapham; President W. F. Warren, Boston University; Dr. Eben Tourjee, of Boston, and Professor Alonzo Williams, of Brown University.

Schools of the academic type were also founded at Westerly, Bristol, South Kingston, Warwick, Warren, Woonsocket, North Providence, Coventry, and six or seven in Providence. Smithfield Academy, at Union

Village, Woonsocket, was one of the most useful of this class of schools, chartered in 1808, through the efforts of Elisha Thornton and Nicholas Brown. The building money was raised by lottery, although its chief support was from the Quakers. The grade was that of a preparatory school of students for New England colleges. The first principal was David Aldrich. Its greatest prosperity was under the principalship of Prof. James Bushee, a Quaker and an able teacher. The sciences, especially Astronomy, received large attention and it was said that the cabinets of minerals and chemicals and philosophic apparatus were equal to those of Brown University. Mr. Bushee was a man of progressive ideas, was the first to organize a course of popular lectures at Woonsocket and was one of the founders of the Worcester Natural History Society.

One of the old academies still exists at North Scituate under the name of Pentecostal Collegiate Institute. Its earliest title was the Smithfield Seminary, later Lapham Institute. It was founded by the Rhode Island Association of Free Baptists and was designed to give a liberal education to youths of both sexes. Twenty thousand dollars, solicited from the savings of country people of small means, were invested in buildings and equipment and the school was opened in 1839 under the principalship of Rev. Hosea Quimby. Instruction was given in mathematics, the natural sciences, metaphysics, and in English, Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, German, Hebrew and Italian, drawing, painting and instrumental and vocal music, and was designed to fit students for college and to furnish a thorough, practical education for those not taking a college course. This school has had an extra-State patronage and a good reputation for morals and instruction. President James B. Angell and Gov. Henry Howard were once pupils at North Scituate.

The Fruit Hill School, under Mr. Stanton Belden, and the English and Classical High School at Providence, under Messrs. Ladd, Mowry and Goff, have done great service to education, in training boys of the city and State for business life and for college.

Two seminaries for young women demand special notice. One at Warren, in its most flourishing estate under the principalship of Mr. Asa Messer Gammell, gave good educational discipline and instruction to 1500 young ladies of the State, many of whom became teachers in public or private schools.

The most eminent school for girls was established on Benefit street, Providence, by Mr. John Kingsbury, under the name of the Young Ladies High School, in 1828. This school was a pioneer in the higher training of women and its history illustrates the status and progress of female education for a period of thirty years, when Mr. Kingsbury resigned his headship of the school to accept the commissionership of edu-



cation for Rhode Island and later to enter into business life. Professor Lincoln, of Brown University, followed Mr. Kingsbury in the charge of the school and he was followed by Rev. J. C. Stockbridge, D. D., all of whom cherished and fulfilled high ideals for the school. Hundreds of the leading women of the State as well as city were indebted to Mr. Kingsbury and his successors for an outlook on and an acquaintance with the higher life of woman, as attained by true cultural methods and genius.

During the first centuries of the Colony and State, secondary and college education was at private cost, and primary education was wholly or partially at private support until the last half of the nineteenth century, when primary and secondary schools came to be free to all the children and youths of the State, and compulsory laws were enacted to secure the regular attendance at school of all children, between six and sixteen years of age. In some towns, the income of school lands helped to support the school. In others lotteries were conducted to erect houses and pay teachers. Tuition fees to pay part cost of the school were almost universal till 1850. Until 1850, and in some towns later, the schoolmasters of country towns "boarded around" at the homes of the pupils, the parents thereby assuming a part of the cost of the school. The school houses of the early day were cheap buildings, usually built by money raised by private subscription. So general was the practise of drawing on the finances of the parents for the total or partial support of school that it may be stated that the term, an absolutely free school, as now understood, did not exist in any New England town prior to 1800, and in most towns not until a half century later.

John Howland was the real father and founder of the public school system of Rhode Island. Before and during the early years of his life, private schools only existed, and those mainly for boys and young men, and the instructors were almost invariably men. In 1789, Mr. Howland and other leading men of Providence formed the Mechanics Association and in and through it were developed the principle and the outline plan of free public education for all the children of all the people. Mr. Howland, born in Newport in 1757, knew the story of the first attempt to found a free school in that town, a century earlier, and he also knew of its failure and why. He also knew what Bishop Berkeley had done to encourage general education and as a boy had enjoyed the books of the Redwood Library. The common folks needed the public school to lift all men to a common standard. But it was the common people, he tells us, with whom the common school idea was the most unpopular. "We met no opposition from the wealthy, but they having the advantages for their sons and daughters that wealth can always procure, did not feel as we poor mechanics did." Mr. Howland prepared a memorial for the

General Assembly and a committee was chosen to prepare a bill embodying a general school system. Hon. James Burrill, Jr., by the aid of Mr. Howland, drew a free school bill, which was referred to the towns. Mr. Howland now made a campaign in the chief towns and won Providence, Newport and Smithfield. When the bill was taken up in the autumn of 1799 in the House of Representatives it passed after debate and much indifference and opposition. The bill passed the Senate in February at the Providence Session of the Assembly and became a law in 1800. Thus a great triumph was achieved by a man of faith and action, and although the act was repealed in 1803, it was in operation long enough to establish four free schools in Providence, three on the east side of the Providence river and one on the west—a movement never abandoned by the town. Six thousand dollars was the first free school appropriation of Providence for the annual support of four schools, for the year 1800. The first town school committee of Providence consisted of John Howland, President Maxcy, Rev. Dr. Gano, Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, David L. Barnes, Jabez Bowen, Amos M. Atwell, James Burrill, Jr., D. William Jones and John Carlisle. A sub-committee was chosen to draw up rules, the literary labor falling to Mr. Howland. "Up to this time I had never seen a grammar, a sorry confession for a school committee man," wrote Howland, as grammar and geography had never been taught in Providence.

In 1820, a second movement began for a State system of public schools by a resolution passed by the General Assembly "calling on the several towns for information on the subject of public schools." Providence replied that she had five public school houses and eight hundred and forty-six pupils under instruction at a cost of \$3750. Newport had about twenty children at the "Long Wharf Public School," no more. Newport, in 1825, "thought it advisable that the education of males should be provided for." Alas, no school for girls! Newport asked for a public lottery to raise \$10,000 for a school fund, and was refused but was allowed to raise a tax of \$800 "for educating the white children of the town." This sum was spent in building a school house on Mill street, in which a public school for white boys was opened May 9, 1827, on the Lancasterian plan. A school for girls was opened in Newport, June 16, 1828. This was the starting point of the modern free school system at Newport.

In 1827, Hon. Joseph L. Tillinghast, a native of Taunton, Massachusetts, and a member of the General Assembly, became the leader in urging the establishment of a free school system in Rhode Island. Memorials for free schools were sent to the Assembly from Smithfield, Cumberland, Johnston, East Greenwich and other towns. The act, drawn by Mr. Tillinghast and advocated by him, became a law at the January Session of

the Assembly in 1828, and was the foundation of our present public school system. Mr. Tillinghast was a lawyer of Providence, a member of the General Assembly from Providence for several years, speaker of the House of Representatives from May, 1829, to October, 1832, and a member of the United States House of Representatives from this State from September 4, 1837, to March 4, 1843. "To him," writes Prof. Goddard, "more than to any other public man should be ascribed the enduring honor of effecting a most valuable reform in the judiciary and establishing on a more liberal foundation a system of popular education throughout the State. These were great measures—and for them Mr. Tillinghast battled manfully against an array of talent and of partisan influence which would have driven from his purpose a less intrepid man."

The condition of education in Rhode Island in 1828 was briefly stated, thus:

Population in 1820: Providence county, 35,736; Newport county, 15,771; Washington county, 15,667; Kent county, 10,228; Bristol county, 5,637.

Supposed Number of Children of School Age: Providence county, 15,315; Newport county, 6,527; Washington county, 7,093; Kent county, 4,547; Bristol county, 2,361; total for State, 35,843.

Barrington: This town belonged to Massachusetts, until 1747, when it became a part of Rhode Island. It was "the westward end of Swansea," until 1717, when it was set off from that town and incorporated. The first school in the Barrington end of old Swansea (in 1667) was in 1673. "This town (Swansea) voted to establish a school for the teaching of grammar, rhetoric, and the tongues of Latin, Greek and Hebrew, also to read English and to write," and Rev. John Myles, the minister of the Baptist church founded in Barrington in 1663, was chosen schoolmaster, for life, at a salary of forty pounds a year. The ambitious program of studies and the ability of the teacher seem to rival the courses at Harvard. Certain it is that Samuel Myles, rector of King's Chapel, Boston, and a graduate of Harvard in 1684, was fitted in the Grammar School, taught by his father, on Barrington soil before 1680. Mr. Myles immediate successors as schoolmasters were Jonathan Bosworth, and John Devotion. In Barrington as in most of the towns, the early schools were held in the large rooms of some of the patrons of the schools. The earliest schoolhouses were cheap buildings of plainest style.

In 1828 Barrington had three school houses, in each of which schools were taught for from six to seven months, in two terms, winter and summer. Inhabitants,

Bristol was a part of Massachusetts until 1747. The first school was

taught by Samuel Cobbitt from 1685 to 1694. Mr. Cobbitt received £24 a year. In 1712, the town expenses were £60, £40 of which was paid to Master Timothy Fales. In 1828 Bristol had four school houses, one an academy, with two schools in it. There were five men's schools in winter, and an average of twelve schools through the year, taught by women. Inhabitants, 1806.

Burrillville, cut from Gloucester in 1806, dates its first school house built in that year. Earlier schools were held in dwellings, corn-cribs and shops. In 1828 there were eleven school houses, schools in all in the winter, averaging 40 pupils each; one summer public school and four or five private schools. Inhabitants 2164.

The first school building in Charlestown was erected in 1815 and called the Narragansett Indian School House. Private schools had been held in private dwelling houses. In 1828, the town had but one school house—from five to seven schools in winter and three in summer, the average length of which was between three and four months. The teachers were usually incompetent. Inhabitants 1160.

The first school house in Coventry was built about 1766, previous to which schools were kept in dwelling houses, children often going two and three miles to school. Teachers were not well qualified, text books few. "Ciphering books" were used to teach arithmetic. About 1776, three houses were built for schools and religious meetings. They were built and owned by proprietors. In 1828, there were ten school houses, with fourteen winter schools and seven in the summer. Boys only attended in the winter.

Cumberland was a part of Attleboro, Massachusetts, until 1747. In 1828, the town was divided into districts, had thirteen school houses, with summer and winter schools in all and well attended.

East Greenwich; Kent Academy was chartered in 1802. Prior to 1828, there had been no public schools, but five private schools, holding in all ten sessions a year. Inhabitants, 1519.

Exeter had three school houses for winter schools in 1828; no others. Inhabitants 2581.

Foster had fifteen school houses, all used in winter and most in summer. Population 2000.

Gloucester had no public schools prior to 1828. It reported eleven houses and fifteen winter schools, all probably private and held in private or proprietors' buildings. Population 2504.

Hopkinton had nine school houses with winter schools in all; summer schools in villages. Population 1821.

In Jamestown, the first traditional school house was built of stone about 1750; the first of record was built in December, 1802; the first

schools were kept in private houses. In 1828 there were three school houses, with schools in two only in the winter. Population 448.

In Johnston there was little interest in public education. There were five school houses; six or seven schools in the winter and two or three in summer. Population 1542.

Middletown had five school houses with regular winter and irregular summer schools. Population 949. The early history of the town as a part of the town of Newport shows a creditable record as to education, especially in behalf of poor children. In general it may be stated that the children of well-to-do families secured a fair knowledge of arithmetic, geography, reading and spelling, with a little knowledge of the rules of grammar and penmanship.

New Shoreham was slow in establishing schools. In 1828 there was but one school house. Four schools kept four months in winter and in summer gave instruction to 120 children. Population 955.

In North Kingstown, private schools served the demands of the people until the public school law of 1828. In 1800, there was not a school house in the town and the first ones built in 1806, 1808 and later were owned by private school men. Washington Academy, chartered in 1800, was started in 1802 at Wickford with seven scholars. The trustees of this Academy included many of the leading citizens of Rhode Island. Among whom were Nicholas Brown, Gov. John Brown Francis, Ray Greene, Asher Robbins, Christopher G. Champlin, Thomas P. Ives and others of note and influence. This Academy was a bright light in a dark corner of the State. In 1828, this town reported Elam (Washington) Academy, one private school, one school house, in all six schools. Population 3007.

North Providence had an academy and seven school houses and four other schools in the Pawtucket section, eleven schools in all kept open but part of the year. Population 2420.

Portsmouth began well in 1638, but lapsed into indifference with the general decline in New England. In 1828 it had four school houses of the usual type, in which schools were kept quite regularly in winter, but in only one or two in summer. Population, 1,645.

Richmond has the usual record of private schools in private dwellings or buildings loaned for school purposes. In 1828 it reported two school houses and a well attended Sunday school. Population, 1,423.

Mr. Barnard found in a school in Richmond a boy born in 1827 by the name of Thomas Alexander Tefft, "who was wasting his time in drawing pictures." He graduated at Brown University, became a noted architect, having won an international name before his death in 1859.

Scituate owes its educational reputation to the establishment of an

academy at North Scituate in 1839, with Rev. Hosea Quimby as first principal. The town reported five school houses in 1828, with little interest in public education. Population, 2,834.

Smithfield in 1800 was called upon to establish "so many free schools as shall be equivalent to three such schools six months in the year," but it did not do it. Later and before 1828, there were thirteen school houses in the town, two being academies at Woonsocket and Slatersville; in all, nineteen schools. Population, 4,678.

South Kingstown had an academy and seven school houses, in which summer and winter schools were kept. Population, 3,723.

Tiverton, a town of old Plymouth Colony, had ten school houses, in which schools were kept quite regularly in summer and winter. Population, 2,875.

Warren, originally a part of old Swansea enjoyed the early teaching services of Parson John Myles, at Kickemuit. Brown University was started in an academic school at Warren in 1764, taught by Rev. James Manning, minister of the Baptist church. In 1828 Warren had a seminary for girls and four school houses. The town had an excellent record for good summer and private schools. Population, 1,806.

The first school house of record in Warwick was built in old Warwick about 1716 and was used as a school house for religious meetings and town meetings. In 1798 a school house was built near Crompton at a cost of \$200—an average cost of most of the school houses in the State. In 1803 a building was erected at Centreville for school and religious purposes. In 1828 the town was credited with seven school houses with male teachers and six schools with female teachers; in all, sixteen schools. Population, 3,643.

In West Greenwich two school houses had been built by subscription prior to 1828. Eleven schools had winter terms of three months and three of that number had summer schools. Population, 1,927.

Westerly had six school houses open both summer and winter. An academy in that town and one at Pawcatuck furnished instruction in several high school branches. Teachers came from Connecticut for the border towns of Rhode Island. Population, 1,972.

This brief review of the situation of educational affairs in the Rhode Island towns reveals a few significant facts. It is clear that the people had failed to recognize the free school idea as essential to individual development or civic prosperity. Private school education for a few and of a very limited quantity and quality was in vogue. The necessity of educating all the children, of rich and poor alike, at the public expense was not generally accepted as the duty of town and Commonwealth. The people, on the whole, were poor. The farmer class, then in the majority, saw no

need of an education beyond the three R's—the simplest elements of ciphering, writing, reading and spelling. An ambition to go beyond this popular estimate of a necessary modicum of learning was not evidence of a normal mind or a healthy body. To send a boy to college seemed the spoiling of a good farmer, carpenter, storekeeper or workman of any sort. Sissified boys might make ministers, but never good business men.

The standard of education among the common people of Rhode Island, if it may be called a standard, was a low and mercenary one. Efficiency for elementary service is a motive for earning a livelihood, but not for civic, social or moral advancement. Cheap school houses or none at all, short school terms, unqualified persons hired to teach, few textbooks, few aids, no methods—physical force in school government—unqualified school officials, small amount of money devoted to education—all evidence a low public sentiment and show the necessity of a great awakening in district town and State. The Tillinghast act of 1828 was the first evidence of an arousal of the people to their duties in the education of their children. Massachusetts and Connecticut had just begun to feel the power of a new revival in elementary education. Rhode Island stood between these two forces and could not long resist their influence over her own moral and educational life.

The school law of 1828 provided that all money arising from lotteries, flowing into the State treasury, and all money paid by auctioneers be devoted to "the exclusive purpose of keeping public schools"—the sums to be paid to the towns not to exceed \$10,000 in any one year. The towns, by a majority vote, could not exceed double the amount received from the State. The towns were to elect school committees of not less than five nor more than twenty in each town to have the full control of the schools, hire teachers, establish rules and make an annual report to the town. John Howland called this act a law "for the discouragement of schools," inasmuch as it passed the General Assembly "by the influences of members who were opposed to the general instruction of children throughout the State, and wished to confine it to paupers." At that time there were ten academies and one hundred and eighty-one school houses in the State, with two hundred and sixty-two winter schools and an expenditure of about \$25,000.

Prior to 1828 the towns were isolated, acting independently and usually very parsimoniously in the support of schools. One valuable result of the law was to establish some of the elements of a State system of public schools, and thereby to recognize the principle that the education of the children was not only a duty but a necessity of a free State. The wealthy towns were the first to adopt the progressive educational movement; the poorer and conservative towns awaited the new era and uplift. Providence took the lead in public school matters. In 1832 an amendment

to the law required the school money of the State to be distributed "according to the number of the white population under fifteen years, the colored population under ten years, together with five-fourteenths of the said population between ten and twenty-four years." A more refined subtle and incomprehensible plan cannot be imagined.

Providence was incorporated a city in 1832. Its first mayor, Samuel W. Bridgham, was an ardent supporter of free schools, and as chairman of the school committee was a constant force for their upbuilding. On the first school committee the city elected President Asa Messer, of Brown University; Dexter Thurber, Robert H. and Moses Ives, John H. Ormsbee, W. T. Grinnell and others of that nobility class. A high school was soon called for. The Mechanics' Association, the first advocate of free schools, was an active force in the educational propaganda. J. L. Hughes, Simon Henry Greene, Amherst Everett and Seth Radelford, Dr. E. B. Hall, Thomas W. Dorr, William G. Goddard, George Curtis, Hezekiah Anthony, Jesse Metcalf and twenty more of the leading citizens of Providence were shaping the educational policy and directing the practical affairs of the city schools, and under their guidance a high school was an absolute assurance, though combatted by the opinions that a high school was "an aristocratic institution," that it was "unconstitutional to tax property for a city college," that "it would educate children above working for their support," and that "a poor boy or girl would never be seen in it," and "a high school would be an excrescence on the school system." Notwithstanding their dreadful portents, a great majority of the taxpayers had voted for a high school, a building was erected at the corners of Benefit, Angell and Waterman streets, and was opened on Monday, March 20, 1843, with one hundred and sixty-four pupils—eighty boys and eighty-four girls. The establishment of the high school in Providence was the third act in the public school movement, the second having been the election of a city superintendent of public schools in 1839, in the person of Nathan Bishop, a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1837, and at the date of his election a tutor at Brown. He conducted the schools so successfully that he remained in office until 1851, when he was called to Boston, where he was city superintendent until 1858. Providence was the first city in the United States to elect a school superintendent. Thomas W. Dorn, a man of historic interest was chairman of the school board of Providence, 1841-42, during the building of the high school house.

The first reports, giving any precise knowledge of school affairs, was prepared by Mr. Oliver Angell, a veteran Providence schoolmaster, under date of May 17, 1832. It showed three hundred and twenty-three public schools, with 17,034 pupils, under the instruction of three hundred and eighteen men and one hundred and forty-seven women. Twenty schools continued the whole year; the balance averaged three months. The State

gave \$10,000 and the towns raised \$11,490—a total of \$21,490 spent for public education. The report showed two hundred and sixty-nine private schools, but these may have been the continuance of the public schools by private subscriptions. It was estimated that \$68,040 was spent on the private school instruction of 3,403 pupils, with total of \$102,865 spent for education, public and private, for the year.

In 1844 the number of scholars in public schools was 22,156, under four hundred and twenty-eight men and three hundred and forty-two women teachers—the State expending \$25,095 and the towns adding \$33,323. Thus a substantial gain had been made in twelve years, but not in any degree so rapid as had been the progress in our border States, where Horace Mann, in Massachusetts, and Henry Barnard, in Connecticut, had aroused the people to a truer value of public education.

In October, 1843, Hon. Wilkins Updyke, a member of the General Assembly from South Kingstown, introduced a bill, which passed unanimously, authorizing the Governor to employ an agent to examine and report on the condition of common school education in the State. On December 6, 1843, Governor James Fenner announced that he had secured the services of Henry Barnard, of Connecticut, as the educational agent of the State, who would enter immediately on the duties of his office. This was the first great decisive step taken by the State, and so strong was the sentiment of the leading citizens of Rhode Island in favor of progressive action that a cordial welcome was given Mr. Barnard and the direction of educational legislation and the conduct of the schools committed to his guidance.

Mr. Barnard was well qualified for the pioneer work to be done. He was then thirty-three years old, in the full vigor of early manhood, an idealist, interested in social reforms, with an early identification with the work of Horace Mann, in Massachusetts, and conversant with educational progress in England, France, Switzerland and Germany. His native State had recognized his ability and enthusiasm and had employed him as secretary of the Board of Education, wherein he had gained experiences fitting him for the Rhode Island field, in which he labored with great fidelity and success for five years. Mr. Barnard's great forte was that of an educational publicist, and his chief life-work was the voluminous library of educational material, styled Barnard's Journal of Education, which was published at the cost of his own private fortune. This work was begun in Rhode Island. Mr. Barnard instituted public meetings in all parts of the State, published and distributed literature, held institutes and organized the district system, which served a temporary end in enlisting a great number of people through the multiplicity of school officers. The school law of 1845 expressed Mr. Barnard's ideas as to a public school system and was carried through the General Assembly by Mr. Updyke. This

law created the office of Commissioner of Public Schools and established and elaborated the district system, abolished thirty years later.

While Mr. Barnard was a whole-souled educational reformer and drew to his support the best men and women of the State, in organization and executive ability he was supremely deficient—a defect which limited his career in Rhode Island to five years and marked the whole of his subsequent life-work. Mr. Barnard was an ardent admirer and close follower of Horace Mann and a study of the philosophy and methods of the Massachusetts educator will reveal the sources of Mr. Barnard's plans and operations.

Mr. Barnard's successor was Elisha R. Potter, of South Kingstown, a warm friend and supporter of Mr. Barnard, who held the office from 1849 to 1854. He brought to the work a legally trained mind and a clear educational vision. As a native Rhode Islander, he knew the character and spirit of the people and his judicial mind was a powerful corrective of false and superficial theories and methods. Mr. Potter's great work was found in codifying the school law, in legal decisions of school questions, the advocacy and establishment of a State Normal School and the discussion and decision of the religious question in public schools. The use of the Bible and the practice of prayer in public schools were subjected to Constitutional tests, and the conclusions of Mr. Potter have stood all later objections. His administration stilled the chief opponents of a public school system, and set forces in operation of conservative value to its permanency.

Rev. Robert Allyn, principal of the East Greenwich Academy, held the office from 1854 to 1857. Mr. Allyn was a thorough educator, teacher, thoroughly attached to the common schools of the State. He devoted much of his time to town visitation of schools, giving public addresses and holding institutes. He also edited the *Rhode Island Schoolmaster*. In 1856 he reported "that less than half the children of school age were in school at any one time," the percentage of enrollment being sixty-nine per cent. and the attendance forty-eight and two-thirds per cent. In 1857 he reports that the school enrollment was seven hundred and sixty-one less than in 1852, while the increase of taxation had been nearly forty-two per cent. and the growth of population had been seven per cent. He seems, even in these figures, quite misleading, for his optimistic temper enables him to declare the school system of the State a model one and charges the faults and weaknesses of the schools to the prodigious increase of child labor in manufacturing industries and the influx of a large population of foreign born parents and children. Mr. Allyn was a thorough and conscientious worker and was held in high esteem by the teachers and school officers of the State. He retired from office with the administration of Governor W. W. Hoppins.

With the advent of Governor Elisha Dyer, in 1857, the new school officer was John Kingsbury, of Providence, who had for many years conducted a secondary school for young ladies, in which he had won high rank as an educator. Mr. Kingsbury had been a co-worker with Mr. Barnard and an efficient aid to his successor. He was a man of excellent scholarship, and well acquainted with teachers, text-books and methods of his time. He was conservative in thought and action, courteous in professional conduct, calm, quiet and dignified in address. Mr. Kingsbury was one of the founders of the American Institute of Instruction in 1830, and president from 1855 to 1857. He was also president of the Rhode Island Institute of Instruction from 1845 to 1856. No educator of the State was better qualified for the position and to the advancement of public education, he gave himself, in a thorough inspection of school houses, schools, methods of teaching, teachers qualifications, etc., etc. With the exception of three or four districts, he visited every school and carefully noted conditions in every school house in the State. His report as to the state of school houses in the State is a valuable contribution to the history of education. Mr. Kingsbury was a wise advisor of school officers and teachers and his addresses in the schools and to school patrons stimulated and encouraged both to higher standards. "Rhode Island has done well," he wrote. "She takes a high rank among her sister States in furnishing the inestimable privilege of a good common school education to every child in the State. * * * A large number of our school houses are creditable specimens of school architecture. They are commodious, well arranged, well adapted to school purposes, furnished with maps, blackboards and other conveniences, and some of them are beautifully located with good grounds adorned with shade trees." Further, he contrasts the school houses and dwelling houses in some towns, where the dwellings and outbuildings are sumptuous and the school houses are the poorest. Where such conditions existed, the Commissioner concluded that the real want was a knowledge of the true manner of using wealth.

Called to the presidency of the Providence Washington Insurance Company, Mr. Kingsbury resigned the office to the great regret of educators and people at the end of two years of valuable and appreciated work for common schools.

Dr. Joshua Bicknell Chapin occupied the Commissioner's chair during two terms, from 1859 to 1861, and from 1863 to 1869. Dr. Chapin was an accomplished scholar, a close reasoner and an able advocate of public education. In intellectual ability few men of his day were better qualified for the exalted office of Commissioner. In his reports he showed the evils of the district system, called attention to the importance of Normal School training for teachers, commended the superior teaching power of women to men. He said: "I am free to say that two-thirds of all the

schools which I have visited, taught by males, would be better taught, and better disciplined, too, by females." He urged better pay for female teachers, urging that for the same grade of service the pay for male and females should be equal. He also advocated better pay for all teachers of all grades and both sexes. He commended the more reasonable methods of school discipline. His decisions on school questions showed a fine judicial ability and a clear knowledge of school law and evidence. His addresses on educational themes were examples of thorough and exact knowledge, close reasoning and honest convictions of truth. He was unsparing of severe criticism of false and old foggy methods and of the cheap tricks of shallow pretenders. His idealism as to the possibilities of the work of the public school far outran existing results, and his hearty approval of the good always pointed the way to the goal of the better and the best. He was not as popular as his predecessor, Mr. Kingsbury, but he was equally industrious, conscientious and worthy.

Henry Rousmaniere was the appointee of Governor William Sprague, holding office for two years and retiring with the Sprague regime. Mr. Rousmaniere was a business man and prior to his elevation was in Governor Sprague's employ. He claimed no special qualifications for the work of education, either in ability or scholarship and represented Governor Sprague's idea that the schools needed a business man's qualifications rather than a trained educator's. This was Governor Sprague's conceit and he followed it, to the great disappointment of the school officers of the State, and finally to his own. Mr. Rousmaniere filled the office to the best of his abilities as a trained bookkeeper and accountant and illustrated the fact he was the best Commissioner necessity knew how to produce. He entered on the high office, conscious of his ignorance of its requirements, to satisfy a friend. At the end of two years he left it, self-satisfied, with the full approval of the people. It was the first time that the office of Commissioner of Public Schools was used to pay a political debt. Let it be hoped it was the last and only time.

Mr. Thomas W. Bicknell, of Barrington, succeeded his cousin, Dr. Joshua Bicknell Chapin, as Commissioner, holding the office from June 1, 1869, to his resignation, January 1, 1875, to become editor and publisher of the *New England Journal of Education* in Boston, Massachusetts. Modesty denies the privilege of criticising or commending this administration of the public schools of Rhode Island. The following resumé of Mr. Bicknell's labors is from the pen of Hon. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of Newport, in the "Centennial Report on Education in Rhode Island."

The writer may state that he had led a student life from the old-time district school in his native town, Barrington; that during his senior year

in Brown University, 1859-60, he had occupied a seat in the House of Representatives, elected thereto by his native town; that he advocated educational measures in the debates of the House, especially the bill for the abolition of the separate schools for colored children; that he had been a teacher of public and private and evening schools for twelve years, including six years as principal of the high school at Bristol; that he had been an associate editor of *The Rhode Island Schoolmaster*; that he had been president of the Rhode Island Institute for two years and had conducted teachers' and peoples' institutes in various parts of the State; that he had been a member of a State committee to aid in reëstablishing the State Normal School, which had expired in 1866 and that he had been an assistant to Mr. Kingsbury and Dr. Chapin in the office of Commissioner of Public Schools, when it was located in a single room in the rear on the second floor of the building, No. 19 Westminster street, Providence, Rhode Island. Mr. Bicknell entered on his labors as Commissioner from the principalship of the Bristol High School and for two years had no office assistant, as his predecessors had had none. When he was out of town, the office was closed. He entered the office in the thirty-fourth year of his age and resigned it in his fortieth. The following quotations are from the *History of Rhode Island Schools*, by Colonel Higginson:

Dr. Chapin was succeeded in June, 1869, by T. W. Bicknell, Esq., in whose reports we begin at once to see that greater thoroughness and method which we are now accustomed to expect in such documents. For the first time, in connection with his first report, every town published its school report in full. The various points of school discipline, absenteeism, truancy, normal instruction and school supervision were not only discussed in the main document, but illustrated from the local experience of different towns. Mr. Bicknell at once urged the creation of a State Board of Education and the reëstablishment of the Normal School. Both these measures were almost immediately carried, the former in 1870 and the latter in 1871. * * *

By his annual reports and personal efforts, Mr. Bicknell also did much as to procuring liberal legislation on public libraries, as to the extension of the term of school committeemen from one to three years and as to the legal authorization of a school superintendent for every town. As Providence was the first city in New England to appoint (in 1838) a city superintendent, it was appropriate that the State should also be prominent in wise legislation on this point. Mr. Bicknell also urged the appointment on school committees of a reasonable proportion of experienced and intelligent women, mentioning one town in the State (Tiverton) where the committee had consisted wholly of women, with favorable results. He collected data as to evening schools from different towns in the State. He fearlessly presented the facts as to illiteracy in Rhode Island. (See report for January, 1872, page 34). * * *

Mr. Bicknell proposed remedies for illiteracy:

1. Excellent public schools.
2. An intelligent and interested public sentiment, strongly positive in favor of public education.
3. The enforcement of a law which shall not allow a child to be employed in a manufacturing establishment under twelve years of age.
4. The enforcement of a law requiring the children employed in the manufacturing establishments of our State to attend school at least five months in each year.
5. A truant and vagrant law, by which every child between the ages of six and sixteen years, not attending any school or without any regular or lawful occupation, or growing up in ignorance, may be committed to some suitable institution, or bound as an apprentice at some good home, for the purpose of gaining the rudiments of an education and of learning some useful trade.
6. The establishment of evening schools in every town, for the benefit of all persons over sixteen years of age, who may desire to attend.
7. A constitutional enactment, which shall require of every person who shall possess a franchise in the State, a certificate of his ability to read and write. * * *

In Mr. Bicknell's last report, he devotes especial attention to the subject of drawing in schools and urges reasons why it has peculiar importance for the Rhode Island system. (See report for year 1874). * * *

These remarks deserve especial prominence, inasmuch as the introduction of drawing into the schools is a reform still to be effected throughout the State as a whole, Newport being the only place where it is yet taught systematically.

* * * After six years of eminently useful service, Mr. Bicknell retired from office in January, 1875, in order to assume the editorship of THE NEW ENGLAND JOURNAL OF EDUCATION. The best verdict on his labors was that pronounced by the Board of Education in saying that he had labored for the schools "*with a diligence, a wisdom, and a contagious enthusiasm, which, it is believed, have resulted in lasting benefit to the cause with which his name is identified.*"

Writing in the third person, Mr. Bicknell sums up his administration of the public schools briefly as follows:

- A. The creation of a State Board of Education.
- B. Placing Rhode Island at the head of the column of American States in length of school year—thirty-five weeks and three days.
- C. Appropriations by towns and State for public schools, quadrupled in six years.
- D. Enactment of a law requiring all towns to elect a paid superintendent of schools.
- E. Terms of school committees fixed at three years.
- F. The establishment of evening schools.
- G. The establishment of public libraries.
- H. The dedication of about one hundred new school houses.
- I. The advocacy of drawing in the public schools.
- J. Raising the Rhode Island Institute to the first rank in institute attendance and work.

K. Teachers' institutes and many educational addresses in all parts of Rhode Island.

L. His greatest work, the most difficult in accomplishing and the most far-reaching in its results, was the founding of the State Normal School at Providence, September 6, 1871. Professor George W. Greene, the historian, a resident of East Greenwich, was a representative from that town in the General Assembly and chairman of the House Committee on Education. He wrote to Mr. Bicknell: "The nature and extent of your services in founding the Normal School of Rhode Island cannot be overstated and may be told in a single sentence. *But for you the work would never have been done; at least, not for many years. There were formidable prejudices to be overcome and conflicting opinions to be reconciled.* As chairman of the Committee on Education, I have every opportunity of observing the zeal, energy and good judgment with which you carried on and completed your work. Rhode Island owes you a debt of gratitude, and your name will always be associated with one of her most important institutions." It was a distinguished honor accorded the bill for a State Normal School that it passed both Houses of the General Assembly by a unanimous vote in each House. The bill became a law March 15, 1871. (See story of Rhode Island Normal School, 1911). The Normal School began its work with a principal, J. C. Greenough, and two assistants. It now has a faculty of twenty-one teachers, with forty-eight heads of observation and training schools, etc. Two thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight teachers have received their diplomas at graduation to date.

Mr. Thomas B. Stockwell was an assistant teacher in the Providence High School before entering on the duties of the Commissioner. The son of a Congregational minister, a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1862, his life had been one of study and teaching, with a fair knowledge of the workings of Massachusetts and Rhode Island schools. He found the educational life of the State vigorous and progressive, and in Mr. Greenough of the Normal School as a practical assistant, a man of unusual strength, with fine administrative and teaching ability, and a strong initiative. The train of educational progress was advancing, with good momentum, and Commissioner Stockwell had only to board it and direct its velocity. Mr. Greenough proposed the purchase of the Providence High School building on Benefit street, Providence, and this was soon accomplished and the Normal School removed to better and larger accommodations. Mr. Stockwell was a hard worker, faithful, conscientious, winning the confidence of the educational forces of the State and the favor of the General Assembly. He organized the State library movement and gave to it much time. Political forces began to advise and direct in school matters. Where he could not control, he yielded gracefully without opposition. General Charles R. Brayton, the political boss of Rhode Island, came to have a controlling voice in all the affairs of the State. Fortunately, he usually consented to Mr. Stockwell's plans and his

official career was safe-guarded. Initiative and organization were no longer needed as qualifications of the school commissioner. Safety lay in acquiescence and in a conservative policy. Providence influence assumed control of normal school affairs during Mr. Stockwell's term. Out of it came the new Normal School building, with its fine equipment. Among the State institutions which came into being during Mr. Stockwell's term were the State Home and School, the Rhode Island School for the Deaf, Rhode Island School of Design, and the Rhode Island State College, each originating in agencies independent of the commissioner's office. The State Home and School for Dependent and Neglected Children was opened April 1, 1885. The Rhode Island State College is a United States "land grant college," founded by the Government in each State to give "a chance to the industrial classes of the country to obtain a liberal education" through experimental, extentional and instructional work. Hon. John W. Davis, Governor of the State, was largely instrumental in the establishment of this most worthy institution. The School for the Deaf was opened as a day school, April 2, 1877, with five pupils. Large buildings have been erected by the State and this school is now in a most excellent condition, under the principalship of Mrs. E. G. Hurd, at 520 Hope street, Providence. There are now fifty-seven free public libraries in the State, all receiving State aid through the State Board of Education. These libraries have about 600,000 volumes on their shelves, with a healthy and growing circulation. Good literature is now within easy reach, and without cost to every child and citizen of Rhode Island. The historic Redwood Library of Newport is not included in the above list, nor the State Library, State House, Providence, nor the fine libraries of the Rhode Island Historical Society at Providence and that of the Newport Historical Society. The John Carter Brown Library contains the most valuable collection of *Americana* to be found in the United States. The John Hay Library of Brown University has 235,000 books at the service of professors, students and alumni, well housed. This Board has become the foster-parent of many of the State educational institutions and has rendered great services in a general superintendence of their work and finances. The Board has been a valuable director in matters committed to its control and a careful advisor in affairs prudential and financial. It has also given stability to the official heads of the school department of the State, so that in a period of fifty years, only two Commissioners have completed their terms of office—the first, Mr. Bicknell, resigning January 1, 1875, for another field of educational work, and the other—Mr. Stockwell, who died in office in 1906. In the period between January 1, 1844, and January 1, 1870, eight changes had been made in the Commissioner's office: Barnard, 1844-1849; Potter, 1849-1854; Allyn,



JOHN HAY LIBRARY, BROWN UNIVERSITY



HOPE STREET HIGH SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE



JOHN CARTER BROWN HOUSE
Home of John Carter Brown Library

1854-1857; Kingsbury, 1857-1859; Chapin, 1859-1861; Rousmanien, 1861-1863; Chapin, 1863-1869; Bicknell, 1869. Mr. Stockwell served the State faithfully for thirty years, dying in office at the age of 67 years.

The ninth Commissioner of Public Schools is Walter E. Ranger, who succeeded Thomas B. Stockwell in 1905. Born in Maine, Dr. Ranger received his early education in a district school, and was prepared for college at Wilton Academy. He was graduated from Bates College, and after graduation took up his life work in the profession of education, in which he had already served an apprenticeship through teaching district schools while a college student. As a teacher he served with honor and reputation in three State systems of schools in Maine, Massachusetts and Vermont. He had been principal of Nichols Latin School, Lewiston, Maine; principal of the high school at Lennox, Massachusetts; principal of Lyndon Institute, Lyndon, Vermont, and principal of Johnstown Normal School, Vermont, before he was elected State Superintendent of Vermont. He had served six years as State Superintendent in Vermont before being called to Rhode Island. It was significant for Rhode Island education that the State Board of Education in choosing a successor for Thomas B. Stockwell should be first to follow the precedent established in 1843, when Rhode Island called Henry Barnard from Connecticut to be State Agent for Public Schools and afterward Commissioner of Public Schools. The precedent has been followed since 1905 by Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

After a year spent in careful study of Rhode Island public schools, Dr. Ranger, in 1906, recommended ten measures for the improvement and extension of the public school system. Four of these measures aimed at advancement of the professional and economic status of the teachers, consistently with Dr. Ranger's recognition of the principle that, next to the children themselves, the teacher is the most important factor in the schools. A teachers' pension law was recommended as a means of providing retirement for teachers who through years of faithful devotion to education of the people's children had earned a right to honorable release from active service. It is worthy of mention that the Rhode Island pension law is exclusively a public enterprise, because it is supported solely by State appropriations. A minimum salary for teachers, reasonable legal tenure for teachers, and a summer school for teachers, also were recommended. All of these recommendations have received the approval of the General Assembly, which has enacted legislation or made other provision to carry them into effect. In addition thereto, at Dr. Ranger's suggestion, the General Assembly has provided an annual appropriation of \$5,000 for the support of a graduate department of education at Brown University, and for free State scholarships therein for public school teachers and for persons preparing to become teachers. In his decisions

as Commissioner of Public Schools, Dr. Ranger has aimed still further to maintain and to uphold a legal status for the teacher in his relation to the school, to the town, to the State, and to the people, consistent with principles fundamental in the administration of a department of public service so vital to the life of a democratic State as are its public schools.

Three of Dr. Ranger's recommendations concerned with the schools themselves, were improved school sanitation and sanitary standards, industrial and trade education in the public schools, and a more practical equalization of educational opportunities, the last to be secured by provision of high school education for all the youth of the State and extension of skillful supervision. Each recommendation has been carried into effect through legislation, and each has become a precedent for more legislation. When the General Assembly, in 1912, entrusted to the State Board of Education the duty of approving proper standards of heating, lighting, seating, ventilating and other sanitary arrangements for schools, the same act carried an annual appropriation to be apportioned to towns providing medical inspection for schools, and also required superintendents to make or to cause to be made an annual inspection of the eyes and ears of children for the purpose of detecting defects of vision and hearing. Statistical returns indicate that the annual examination of eyes and ears, and the notices of defects sent to parents, have had a significant effect—the number of children found to have defective vision or hearing decreases proportionately to the number examined from year to year. Subsequent legislation has exemplified the provision for improved school sanitation. Examination of the teeth of school children was permitted under the medical inspection law; in 1917 school committees were authorized to establish public dental clinics, and to provide, at public expense, treatment for children found with defective teeth, in instances in which the parents after reasonable notice failed to provide treatment. In the same year the General Assembly enacted a law requiring that every child over eight years of age, attending public or private instruction, shall receive an average of twenty minutes daily of physical training or physical education. Since 1913 children applying for age and employment certificates permitting children over fourteen and under sixteen years of age to work, have been examined by physicians employed by the State, to determine sound health and physical fitness for employment, without which issue of the certificate is forbidden. Of seven legal measures for safeguarding the health of children of school age—certificates of vaccination, medical inspection, examination of eyes and ears, dental inspection and dental clinics, sanitary standards for school houses, compulsory physical training, and examination of children for employment—six belong to Dr. Ranger's administration. Under State encouragement, medical inspection has been provided for more than ninety per cent. of the children enrolled in public

schools. Town and State expenditures for medical inspection exceed \$30,000 annually.

Industrial and trade education are not new in Rhode Island. Commissioner Bicknell, in 1874, recommended instruction in drawing in all public schools as a study absolutely essential to the development of Rhode Island industries. The State became a contributing associate in the promotion of the Rhode Island School of Design in 1882, and in 1888 established at Kingston the agricultural school that became subsequently Rhode Island State College. Dr. Ranger served as a member of a special commission appointed by the General Assembly to investigate and report on the educational value of the Rhode Island State College to the State. The report, largely the work of the commissioner, is an exhaustive treatment of the functions of State colleges and of Rhode Island State College in particular; its publication after presentation to the General Assembly helped to establish for Rhode Island State College the esteem in which this institution is now held by the people of the State. At the request of the General Assembly, Dr. Ranger in 1910 made a special investigation of and report on the State's need of industrial, vocational and industrial education. The Assembly in 1912 made the first annual appropriation for the promotion of industrial education in the public schools of Rhode Island, and in 1913 made provision to contribute to the support of a textile department at Rhode Island School of Design. Since 1916 an annual appropriation of \$1,000 has been available for free State scholarships at Rhode Island College of Pharmacy and Allied Sciences. Largely as a result of Dr. Ranger's persuasion, Rhode Island in 1917 accepted the provisions of the Federal Vocational Education Act, and the General Assembly has made appropriations available that will permit coöperation by the State Department of Education with the Federal Board for Vocational Education in the development of vocational education in the public schools. A significant innovation in this direction has been the establishment in Providence of a Trade School for Boys over fourteen years of age. This school provides part-time education for boys already engaged in industry, who are released a few hours each day for school instruction in the trade or in studies correlated with the trade or suitable to improve the civic usefulness of the boys. When the United States entered the World War, the Rhode Island board coöperated with the Federal Board for Vocational Education in training men for trade and occupational service with the armies. More than six hundred and fifty men were trained for army occupations, and more than two hundred and fifty were trained to become munition workers in factories.

While in Vermont, Dr. Ranger had written the text of a law making the provision of high school education a mandatory obligation of towns.

State support of high school education in Rhode Island began in 1898. In 1906 Dr. Ranger recommended mandatory provision of high school education as one element in a general program for equalizing educational opportunities. Three years later the General Assembly increased the annual appropriation for high schools, and amended the high school law in such manner as to require every town in the State either to maintain a public high school, or to make provision at the expense of the town for high school education, by paying tuitions at public high schools in other towns or in approved secondary schools. Commissioner Ranger drafted this law. The Commissioner's decision in the appeal of *Hudson vs. Coventry*, approved by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, upholds a most liberal interpretation of the high school law. In 1914 an inspector of high schools was appointed. Extension of skillful supervision was also recommended as a measure to promote equalization of educational opportunity, and certification of superintendent as a measure for the general improvement of supervision. The General Assembly in 1908 extended the certificate law to cover superintendents as well as teachers, in 1915 offered to towns that had not previously taken advantage of State support for supervision a most liberal plan for supervision largely at State expense, in 1917 extended the pension law to cover superintendents as well as teachers, and in 1919 increased by one-third the amount that might be apportioned to each town for support of supervision. By reason of persistent effort to extend the area of the State covered by professional superintendents, the number of towns under trained supervision has increased from fourteen in 1905 to thirty-three in 1919. Only six towns in Rhode Island are still without professional supervision. Of the 2642 public schools in Rhode Island, 2586 are under professional supervision; of 92,292 children enrolled in public schools, 90,541 attend schools that are under professional supervision.

On the recommendation of the Commissioner in 1913, the General Assembly made its first annual appropriation for deficient schools in an act providing for apportionment of not more than \$5,000 annually for specific improvement of schools in towns unable at the average rate of taxation prevailing in the State to maintain schools of high standard. This appropriation has been used to remedy unwholesome conditions in rural schools, and through it a tremendous improvement has been accomplished. A noteworthy by-product of this law is the minimum legal school year of thirty-six weeks, enacted after every town in the State, some with support under the deficient school act, had attained the minimum. It should be noted that, besides maintaining the longest minimum school year in the United States, Rhode Island's average school year of 199 days is also the longest average school year in the United States.

The two remaining recommendations of 1906 were State aid for

travelling libraries, and a State home and school for the feeble-minded. The promotion of public libraries had been one of the earliest functions of the State Board of Education as recommended by Commissioner Bicknell, and, with liberal support, public libraries had been established in almost every town in the State. Dr. Ranger's study of Rhode Island's needs convinced him that library service could be made more efficient through circulating travelling libraries. An act passed in 1907 provided for travelling libraries, and a library visitor, whose duties include inspecting public libraries, aiding librarians in improving library service and supervising the circulation of travelling libraries. The significance of the travelling library as an educational measure is indicated in reports of recent years, which show average annual loans totalling 50,000 volumes. In 1907 the State Board of Education was authorized to establish a school and home for the feeble-minded. A farm near Slocums was chosen as a site, and the institution now known as the Exeter School was developed. After ten years, in which the establishment was thoroughly organized and its usefulness to the State was demonstrated, the State Board of Education, pursuant to its request, was relieved of responsibility for the Exeter School, which was transferred in 1917 to the control and management of the Penal and Charitable Commission.

Dr. Ranger is a firm believer in an education common to all, which he defines in two ways—first, as the education which sound public policy determines that every citizen should possess; and second, as all the education of all the citizens of the State, which is part of the social property. His belief in the education common to all of the latter type has led him to advocate increase of opportunities for higher education for all the youth of the State. He has urged the extension of high school education, and has consistently labored to promote the interests of Rhode Island Normal School and Rhode Island State College. A plan for combining the resources and facilities of these two institutions, and for the development of a strong department of education at both for the education of teachers for the schools of the State, originated with him, and will be carried into effect with the opening of the school year of 1919-1920. This plan provides for an exchange of members of the faculties of the college and the normal school, and an exchange of students. Students who complete a four-year course, including two years each at the college and the normal school, will be granted the baccalaureate degree in education. Teachers for elementary schools and high schools, and also teachers for the new vocational schools, will be prepared. Under the system of State certification for all public school teachers, and with the unexcelled facilities for training teachers provided in Rhode Island, Rhode Island has undisputed leadership in the personnel of the teaching force, more than eighty-five per cent. of all the teachers in the State being graduates of normal schools

or colleges. The combination of Rhode Island Normal School and Rhode Island State College aims at further improvement.

The education common to all, in the former sense, is the education promoted by compulsory attendance and similar laws. Since 1905 minimum employment age has been raised from thirteen years to fourteen years, compulsory school age has been raised from thirteen years to fourteen years, and compulsory attendance age has been raised from fifteen years to sixteen years. The compulsory school law and the factory inspection law, both of which deal with school age and school attendance, have gradually been perfected, through successive amendments, all with the purpose of presenting every possible loss of education common to all, through non-attendance at school in the years designated by law. Significant gains in attendance have been made; more than 95 per cent. of children of compulsory school age are enrolled in school. The large foreign-born population in Rhode Island, and the correspondingly large number of children of foreign-born parents in Rhode Island, have produced an educational problem that may not be solved simply by providing excellent free public schools and by enforcing attendance in the usual years of childhood. The solution of this problem was first attempted through the establishment of evening schools, but evening school attendance never has been compulsory. In the day schools a particular effort to Americanize all children, including native-born children of American parents, and children of foreign birth or born of foreign-born parents, has been made through the teaching of patriotism and American ideals. Through Dr. Ranger's initiative the practice of providing patriotic programs for special days of school observance has been developed. Two patriotic programs are published annually, the editions being large enough to permit widespread distribution among school children. Custom in other States limits the circulation of similar programs to teachers. An attempt to solve the problems of Americanization and adult illiteracy so far as these problems may be solved through public educational agencies, has been authorized by the General Assembly in 1919 in an act entitled "An Act to Promote Americanization." The bill was drawn under Dr. Ranger's direction and was modified by him after reference to and consideration by committees of the General Assembly. The act requires towns, in which twenty persons may be found who cannot speak, read and write the English language with reasonable facility determined by standards established by the State Board of Education, to establish evening schools for the teaching of the English language and other subjects that promote good citizenship. Persons beyond compulsory day school age and under twenty-one years of age are required to attend such evening schools, or day continuation schools established in factories or other convenient place, at least two hundred hours per year, under penalty of fine for absence, or imprisonment

during minority for habitual absence, or attendance so irregular that the requirement of two hundred hours of attendance may not be met. While attendance is compulsory only for illiterate minors, it is hoped that illiterate adults also will attend the new type of schools in sufficient numbers to promise a radical reduction of illiteracy, and a marked increase in the proportion of the population of the State competent to read, write and speak English.

From what has been written, the reader cannot fail to observe the emphasis that has been given in Dr. Ranger's administration to confirming the establishment of educational practices in legislation. Dr. Ranger's study of Rhode Island education in his first year as Commissioner of Public Schools led him to a keen appreciation of this characteristic of Rhode Island. Indeed, the correlation of educational legislation and educational progress in Rhode Island is so nearly perfect that practically the success or failure of educational administration may be measured in terms of educational legislation. The most forceful and most resourceful commissioners have been those who have been able to gain most in legislation from the General Assembly. Legislation is necessary not only to confirm educational practice and prevent retroaction, but also to initiate new practice when older practice has ceased to be efficient or when a development of the social environment makes new demands upon the school and other educational agencies. Satisfactory evidence of the continued progress of Rhode Island education during Dr. Ranger's administration is to be found in statistics. Since 1905, State appropriations for education have increased from \$152,346 to \$548,000, a gain of 260 per cent., and town appropriations have increased from \$1,593,935 to \$2,957,698, a gain of nearly 100 per cent. Both gains attest public interest in education. Total school revenue, including State and town appropriations, poll taxes, dog taxes, and money derived from other sources, have increased from \$2,000,000 to \$4,000,000, a gain of 100 per cent. Annual expenditures for new school buildings have risen from a three-year average of \$482,000 to a three-year average of \$850,000. Expenditures for instruction and maintenance of schools have increased from \$1,563,856 to \$2,811,280, a gain of 80 per cent. There is no school tax so designated in Rhode Island. The rate of school tax may be determined from the ratio of school appropriations to total annual appropriations. Since 1905 the school tax rate thus calculated has increased from 31¼ cents to 39½ cents. The cost of schools per capita of school population, or the amount the State and the towns expend for each child of school age, has increased from \$15.66 in 1905 to \$30.56. These figures indicate that in less than fifteen years the people of Rhode Island have nearly doubled the provision made for education of the children of the State, and are an index of improvement and extension of the public schools. In the same period public school attend-

ance has increased from 71,425 to 92,292, and the total number of children receiving instruction in public and private schools has increased from 79,819 to 100,643.

The extensive and intensive development of law in the period since 1905 has involved a corresponding development of responsibility and a necessity for the organization of machinery for administration. Previous to 1905 the Commissioner was assisted by two clerks, at the present time his official family includes an assistant commissioner, a secretary and deputy, a high school inspector, a library visitor and four clerks. A notion of the business of the State office may be gained from the statement that not less than 25,000 pieces of mail are sent out annually. The service of the office is organized in twenty-five divisions as follows: General supervision, accounts, regular reports, special reports, teacher training, certification of teachers, teachers' institutes, teachers' pensions, public libraries, travelling libraries, State free scholarships, education of blind children, education of adult blind, private schools, publications, appeals under school law, blank forms and supplies, apportionment of appropriations, board meetings and conferences, interstate relations, age and employment certificates, general correspondence, vocational education, miscellaneous and unclassified. The Commissioner is *ex-officio* secretary of the State Board of Education, a member of and secretary of the board of trustees of Rhode Island Normal School, executive agent and secretary of the Rhode Island State Board for Vocational Education, a member of and president of the board of managers of Rhode Island State College, and a member of the board of trustees and executive committee of Rhode Island School of Design. Except appropriations for institutions, State appropriations for education are apportioned and paid on orders drawn by the Commissioner in some one of his official capacities, and he assumes the responsibility of apportioning according to law one-quarter of a million dollars annually.



CHAPTER XXXIV

RHODE ISLAND AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE



GILBERT STUART'S PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

CHAPTER XXXIV.

RHODE ISLAND AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Our first civil war, in which the Colony of Rhode Island became an active participant, opened on April 19, 1775, in the battles of Lexington and Concord and came to an end with the Treaty of Paris, Sept. 3, 1783. It was a long contest for which both England and her thirteen American Colonies had for a long time been unconsciously and unostentatiously preparing, and Rhode Island the least purposeful of all as to a severance of Colonial relations. For it need only be stated that Rhode Island was the favored child of Mother England in her whole career, from birth, through more than a century of prosperous years. Until 1644, England scarcely knew she had a Narragansett country, and on the request of Roger Williams, she gladly consented to a charter over a wilderness of land and waters, held heretofore by pagan barbarians. Harry Vane and the other Colonial Commissioners and even Mr. Williams knew so little about it, that it took a century of Colonial controversies to secure to Rhode Island what was supposed to be comprehended within the original lay-out. The Coddington Charter, a frightful apparition in the eyes of Rhode Island democracy, was granted without solicitation, and withdrawn at the personal request of two Colonial agents.

The charter of 1663, signed by an arch-royalist, conferred on the Rhode Island Colony an independence, commensurate with the Democracy of the Aquidneck settlement of 1638, and served the constitutional demands of both Colony and State for the unprecedented period of one hundred and eighty years, until 1843. The spasmodic attempts to override charters and chartered rights in Rhode Island, in the seventeenth century, had been successfully parried by Colonial diplomacy and, at the opening of the next century, the Colony found itself pursuing the even tenor of its way without interference in any way with its home politics, the Colony giving to the Crown such support as it could easily supply in the defense of its frontiers on the north, held by the French, in return for fancied Royal protection.

The opening of the eighteenth century witnessed a new parliamentary policy towards the Colonies in the famous Acts of Navigation, which were almost wholly restrictive in their application and most seriously affected our Colony, and Newport, our chief commercial town. By these laws, the export and import trade was limited to the British people and must be transported in English ships. In 1699, a law was passed that "no wool or manufacture made or mixed with wool, being the product of any

of the English Plantations in America, shall be loaded in any ship or vessel, upon any pretense whatever, nor loden upon any horse, cart or other carriages, to be carried out of the English Plantations to any other of the said Plantations, or to any place whatever." As an illustration, the Narragansett lands were well suited to sheep raising, but the wool could not be legally sold in New York or Boston or even in Newport and Providence, but it was sold in each and all of these places, for the Colonial Customs were often blind, and an ocean, three thousand miles wide, forbade an intimate knowledge of conditions or an exact interpretation and execution of Parliamentary law. The House of Hanover, in 1714, with a Whig ministry, assumed the new role of legislating for the Colonies, with an absolute and constant regard for the revenues of the Home Government, regardless of the interests of the subject peoples across the sea. In 1719, the House of Commons resolved "that the erecting of manufactories in the Colonies tended to lessen their dependence upon Great Britain." In 1721, George I. recommended the importation of raw products from the Colonies, on the ground that it would prevent the Colonies from setting up manufactures,—a policy fatal to Rhode Island manufacturing resources and possibilities. Rhode Island had native iron ore which the Jenckes and others were manufacturing into nails and household utensils, but in 1719, the Commons ordered that no Colony should allow the manufacture of any iron ore and that no smith might make so much as a bolt, a spike or a nail, and the Lords added that no forge should be erected in any of the Colonies for making sows, pigs or cast-iron into bar or rod-iron. Law after law of the same nature were passed relative to every conceivable article of English trade and commerce, to repress the prosperity of the Colonies by crushing every rising industry that could possibly compete with the home market. A singular illustration appears in the legislation of Great Britain as to fur hats. Furs of the finest quality were abundant in New England and an important factor in our commerce. The New England Colonists began to make their own hats. The English hatters were alarmed and Parliament passed a law, forbidding the exportation of hats and also from one Colony to another, and that no Colonist should become a hatter unless he had served a seven years' apprenticeship. The Colonists sent large quantities of provisions, lumber, etc., to the French West Indies and brought back rum, sugar and molasses. The English sugar colonies complained of this foreign trade and in 1733 a law was passed imposing heavy penalties on all rum, sugar and molasses imported into the Colonies except from British colonies and islands. Such laws could not be enforced and were not repealed. Their natural products were hatred of the law-making power, the agencies that enacted the laws and the study of methods to defeat them. A hundred years of separation from the home land, roughing it on the Atlantic Coast, had

produced a race of hardy men on land and sea, and their prosperity had been won in the struggle for supremacy over adverse outward conditions. Smuggling was an easy method of voiding the navigation laws. Every sailor was a smuggler; every Colonist knew more or less of illicit traffic or industry. Newport and Providence were ports of entry and exit for goods absolutely banned by the English statutes. Commercial alienation, growing out of the deliberate and malignant selfishness of English legislation, was the first great resultant of this treatment of the Colonies and this led naturally to a demand for separation and independence. Said Arthur Young, "Nothing can be more idle than to say that this set of men, or the other administrations, or that great minister occasioned the American War. It was not the Stamp Act,—it was neither Lord Rockingham or Lord North, but it was that baleful spirit of commerce that wished to govern great nations on the maxims of the counter." The seeds of the Revolution of the American Colonies, in 1776, were planted in the Colonial soil a half century and more before by the English statesmen of Great Britain, led by a Prussian lord, the founder of the English house of Hanover, George I.

In spite of all hindrances at home and abroad, the English Colonies in America were the most valuable of the dependencies of Great Britain. In the Charter Colonies, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, all power resided with the freemen. The town meeting was the popular arena where, annually, town officers were elected, deputies to the General Assembly chosen, taxes voted, roads, bridges and schools ordered and all matters of town and local business transacted. This was freeman's day where freemen were in the process of development. In an early day, all legislation, having passed the General Assembly was subject to revision or rejection by the towns for a limited period, following the rising of the General Assembly.

The sessions of the General Assembly of the Colony were held at different towns and were fairly democratic and revealed the general sentiment of the Colony on public measures. No laws were sent to England for approval and, in 1730, when Governor Jenckes appealed to the Crown for a support of his attempted veto of the Paper Money Issue Act, he was advised by the legal representatives of the Crown that the Governor was a part of the law-making body and hence could not veto his own acts and was still further advised that the Crown could not interfere in Colonial legislation, to approve or condemn. A community choosing its own rulers and making its own laws was not a Colony in any true sense and the fact that the Charter of King Charles of 1663 became the Constitution of the State is full proof of its freedom content. Fisher says that England had never fully reduced the Colonies to possession, had never fully established her sovereignty among them.

Before we consider the attitude of Rhode Island toward Colonial separation we must state the social, financial and religious differences existing in the Societies on the Upper and Lower Narragansett Bay, as they had a distinct bearing on the issues leading up to the War for Independence. Aquidneck, as we have seen, was settled by a homogeneous body of families bound by many social ties, religious sentiments and common experiences. Most of the families were well-to-do, none poor, some were wealthy, all superior in education, most, before leaving Boston, members of the First Church, Rev. John Wilson, minister. Their intelligence, social rank and wealth enabled them to maintain a controlling influence in the Colony for more than a century. The Narragansett country, on the opposite shore of the lower Bay, was settled by the same class of people, most coming from or through the Aquidneck body. Except as divided into the Baptist, Congregationalist and Quaker creeds, they were also united by commercial bonds which are stronger than chains of steel. Socially, civilly, educationally, religiously and commercially, southern Rhode Island was united and prosperous and happy.

Northern Rhode Island with Providence as its center was peopled by men and women of small means, narrow education and singularly diverse views as to law, liberty and religion. A study of the several leading characters that made Providence society will show that "distressed consciences" are not happy elements in town or Colony building. Mr. Richman, in his lucid work, "The Making and the Meaning of Rhode Island," has given a terse and most accurate statement as to the two settlements. He wrote, "Now that the Island of Aquidneck had become a political entity, the contrast between it and the entity (or non-entity) Providence was marked in the extreme. By Providence there was symbolized individualism—both religious and political—a force centrifugal, disjunctive and even disruptive. By Aquidneck (and especially by the Newport part of it) there was symbolized collectivism—a collectivism thoroughly individualized as to religion, but in politics conjunctive and centripetal. * * * During the age of Roger Williams, that which we are forced to contemplate on the shores of Narragansett Bay is a struggle for supremacy between separatism and collectivism." Prof. Masson describes Roger Williams as the "arch individualist." Governor Arnold, in his review of the two settlements accords to both the same general characteristics pointed out by Mr. Richman and affirms that the collectivist spirit gave to Aquidneck priority in the expression and illustration of a socialized Democracy on the basis of religious liberty. By natural processes out of the Newport collectivism came the Code of Laws of 1649, and later the broader code of Democracy of the Royal Charter of 1663, penned by Dr. John Clarke, the founder of Aquidneck and its institutions. Baptists, Quakers, and Jews found a "city of refuge" at Newport and

from her harbor went out our first commercial adventurers and privateers, the first to make commerce possible and the second to protect it.

"To see ourselves as others see us" is a worthy mutual attitude for individuals and for society. Let us look through other eyes and note what our English critics saw of good or evil in the Colony of Rhode Island, in the progress of the century ending with Revolutionary events.

Samuel Maverick, once of Boston, later a King's Commissioner, writing of Aquidneck in 1660, said: "It is full of people having been a receptacle for people of several sorts and opinions. There was a patent granted to one Coddington for the government of this Island and Warwick and Providence, two Townes which lye on the maine, and I think they still keepe a seeming form of government, but to little purpose, none submitting to supream authority but as they please."

Col. Richard Nichols, first English Governor of New York, made report to the King concerning Rhode Island, in 1665: "All proceedings in justice are in his Majesties name. They admit all to be freemen who desire it. They allow liberty of conscience and worship to all who live civilly. And if any can informe them of anything in their lawes or practice derogatory to his Majesties honour, they will amend it. The Naryhygansett Bay is the largest and safest port in New England, nearest the sea and fitted for trade. * * * In this Colony is the greatest number of Indians, yet they never had anything allowed towards the civilizing or converting them. In this Province, also, is the best English grasse, and most sheep, the ground very fruitful, ewes bringing ordinarily two lambs; corn yields eighty for one, and in some places they have had corne twenty-six yeares together without manuring. In this Province only they have not any places set apart for the worship of God, there being so many subdivided sects, they cannot agree to meet together in one place, but according to their severall judgments, they sometimes associate in one house, sometimes in another."

In 1680, Governor Peleg Sanford gave an illuminating answer to the British Board of Trade. As it shows so many aspects of Colonial conditions at the close of a half century of settlement, it is worthy of study. See Kimball, p. 7.

The noted Edward Randolph, King's Agent to our Colony, brought seven articles of high misdemeanor against the Rhode Island Colony in 1685. They included charges of illegal fines, taxes and arbitrary imprisonment, laws enacted contrary to the laws of England, the benefits of English laws refused to English subjects, the making and annulling laws without consent of the General Assembly, no legal oaths administered, and the violation of Acts of Trade.

N. N., an English writer, name unknown, wrote in 1690: "Road Island is of a considerable bigness and justly called the garden of New

England for its fertility and pleasantness. * * * Here is a medley of most persuasions, but neither church nor meetinghouse except one built for the Quakers, who are here very numerous. * * * Many of the others regard neither time, nor place, nor worship; and even some very sober men have lived so long without it, that they think all instituted religion useless." He tells a fine story that Boston banished Quakers to Aquidneck, where they must have perished from hunger, had they not dug caves in the hills, where they were fed during a long and cold winter by the Indians. In the spring, the Indian sachem helped them to land, manure and seeds, "and in a little time they wrought themselves into good estates."

Lord Bellemont, Governor of New England from 1695, was a bitter enemy of this Colony. His report made in 1699, on the Irregularities of Rhode Island may be found entire in Rhode Island Colonial Records, Vol. III, 385-387. A few quotations will show the quality of the document, the motive of which was to overthrow the Government and withdraw the Royal Charter.

"They (the Colonists) seem wholly to have neglected the Royall intention and their own professed declaration * * * in that they have never erected nor encouraged any schools of learning or had the means of instruction by a learned orthodox ministry. The Government being elective, has been kept in the hands of such who have strenuously opposed the same; and the generality of the people are shamefully ignorant, and all manner of licentiousness and profaneness does greatly abound, and is indulged within that Government." * * * He complains of the ignorance of the judges of the courts in no ways adequate to justice and says "the Attorney General is a poor illiterate mechanic, very ignorant" on whom the Governor and assistants rely for a knowledge and interpretation of law. * * * "John Greene, a brutish man, of very corrupt or no principles of religion, and generally known to be so" is Deputy Governor, while more worthy gentlemen "are maligned for their good affection to his Majesty's service." The original document is worth reading as a sample of hostile criticism of the Government and the quality of the literature that was sent to the King and Council relative to our Colony.

Governor Joseph Dudley, of Massachusetts, writing to the Board of Trade, London, in 1702, says: "I do my duty to acquaint your Lordships that the Government of Rhode Island, in the present hands, is a scandal to her Majesty's Government. It is a very good settlement, with about 2,000 armed men in it, and no man in the Government of any estate or education, though in the Province there be men of very good estates, ability and loyalty, but the Quakers will by no means admit them to any trust."

Cotton Mather, 1662-1728, writing in 1702 in the *Magnalia*, says, "I believe there never was held such a variety of *religions* together on so small a spot of ground as have been in this Colony. It has been a *colluvies* of *Antinomians*, *Familists*, *Anabaptists*, *Anti-Sabbatarians*, *Arminians*, *Socinians*, *Quakers*, *Ranters*—everything in the world but *Roman Catholics* and *real Christians*, tho' of the *latter*, I hope there have been more than of the *former* among them; so that if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at the general muster of opinionists."

As the eighteenth century advanced a new class of critics appear,—men of education and of clearer insight into the problems that were in process of solution in a little Colony that had held its station in the midst of larger, more influential and at the same more or less hostile Colonial environment. In 1729, Bishop George Berkeley came to Newport, where he spent nearly three years in making the acquaintance of Rhode Island people, their industries and institutions. Writing to an English friend he says: "Dear Tom., I can by this time say something from my own experience of this place and people. The inhabitants are of a mixed kind, consisting of many sorts and subdivisions of sects. Here are four sorts of Anabaptists, besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and many of no profession at all. Notwithstanding so many differences, here are fewer quarrels about religion than elsewhere, the people living peaceably with their neighbors, of whatever profession. They all agree in one point—that the Church of England is the second best. The climate is like that of Italy, and not at all colder in the winter than I have known it everywhere north of Rome. * * * The town of Newport contains about 6,000 souls, and is the most thriving flourishing place in all America for its bigness." The Bishop found that the people of Newport had worn off part of the prejudice which they had inherited from their ancestors against the Church of England, while too many have worn off a serious sense of all religion. He especially commends the communities where regular worship has been maintained. Liquors and small pox have consumed the remnant of the Indian tribes. The religion of Indians and negroes takes after that of their masters. Bishop Berkeley brought with him to America Smibert, the distinguished portrait painter. Both made the acquaintance of Robert Feke, born in Newport and at the time following his profession as a portrait painter in Newport. Bishop Berkeley's passion for education and literature led to the formation of a literary society and the founding of Redwood Library.

In 1737, Rev. John Callender delivered the historical discourse that marked the end of a century from the founding of Rhode Island. This review was an antidote to all the harsh criticism that politicians of the Tory school of English politics and of the New England school of jealous sectarian religionists had poured out on the Rhode Island settlers and

settlements. It silenced them once and for all and cleared the way for a development and progress of unequalled value and extent for the half century that followed.

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Rhode Island, in 1740, and the years following was sharply divided into two classes: The commercial, consisting of the tradesmen, merchants, shipmasters and owners and capitalists of Providence and Newport on the one hand, and the farmers on the other. The enterprise, energy and prosperity of the former, while it ministered to the interests of the latter, at the same time created a feeling of jealousy and irritability. As the General Assembly was numerically in the hands of the country towns, legislation was shaped by the agricultural deputies, who were always in a majority. It was charged that the Quaker government had thrown its influence in favor of agrarian legislation. Whether true or not, the Assembly had paid no heed to Parliament or the Crown in its Acts and had issued paper money, in the interest of the agricultural class, irrespective of the protests of the commercial and trader people and the express edicts of Great Britain. It is interesting to note that a financial heresy in the issuance of bills of credit, in opposition to the Crown, was the first overt act of independence of our Colony. Rhode Island issued her first bills of credit in July, 1710, following the example of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey. It was condoned by the English Government, because the money was devoted to the expenses of men and transports to be sent against the French at Port Royal. The first issue was £5,000, in denominations from five pound to two shilling bills, to be equal in value to current silver of New England, which was eight shillings an ounce. They were to be redeemed at the end of five years and were secured by an annual tax of one thousand pounds, levied solely for their payment. It was declared a felony to counterfeit or deface the bills. This act was sane, well guarded and patriotic and expressed the loyalty of the Colony to the Home Government. There can be no doubt but at this period the New England Colonies were in hearty accord with Great Britain in driving the French from Canada, at the same time the Colonies were exercising themselves in the qualities essential to absolute self-government.

The issuance of paper money in 1710 was the beginning of a financial policy full of disastrous results to all the interests of the Colony,—commerce, agriculture, politics, society, religion, were all sufferers from the common evil of fictitious finance, and spurious credit. In 1730, the Colony of Rhode Island had issued £195,300, about one million dollars, in bills of credit and in 1731 added £60,000, about \$300,000 to the heavy load of paper indebtedness already resting on the people. A full discussion of the paper money issue may be found in *Field's History of*



BIRTHPLACE OF MAJ.-GEN. NATHANAEL GREENE, WARWICK



JAMES DE WOLF MANSION

Home of Samuel Pomeroy Colt, Bristol, R. I.
Built about 1815

Rhode Island, Vol. III, and in Weedon's *Economic and Social History of New England*.

While the paper money issue by the Colonies showed the easy going method of England with her Colonies, it created a distrust on the part of English merchants as to the ability of the Colonists to continue to meet their obligations. At the outset the soft money supplied the place of gold and silver sent to England for manufactured goods, and had the issues of the paper been regulated as in Pennsylvania, no injury would have resulted. British merchants sold to New England Colonists hardware and merchandise of every sort, and they were anxious to have the Colonists stand on a gold and silver foundation. When some of the Colonies attempted to pass stay laws to prevent the collection of debts by British merchants, Parliament enacted that a merchant had the same right to seize private property in Rhode Island as in England. In 1751, Parliament attempted to remedy the paper money evil by an act declaring such money an illegal tender for debt. Here, in an unstable and unsound financial policy adopted by the farmer class of Rhode Island, we find the creation of two violently antagonistic parties, and the creation of a force divisive of the relations of Colony and Crown and it was so interpreted by the English mercantile class. The Navigation Acts of Parliament and the Paper Money issues of Rhode Island were premonitory of an impending crisis. Lecky says: "In 1748, the Swedish traveler, Peter Kalen, visiting the American Colonies, noted and described in vivid colors the commercial oppression under which the Colonists were suffering and the growing coldness of their feelings toward the mother country, added these remarkable words: 'I have been told not only by native Americans, but by English emigrants publicly, that within thirty or fifty years, the English Colonies in North America may constitute a separate State entirely independent of England. But as this whole country on the frontier is kept uneasy by the French, these dangerous neighbors are the reason why the love of these Colonies for their metropolis does not utterly decline. The English Government has, therefore, reason to regard the French in North America as the chief power which urges their Colonies to submission.'"

It is well worth our while here to note a few of the men now entering young manhood from 1740 to 1760. Nathanael Greene, the Quaker Major General in the Revolution was born of Quaker parents at Potowomut in 1742. Stephen Hopkins, Governor and a signer of the Declaration was a deputy in the General Assembly. Esek Hopkins, brother of Stephen and first Commander Admiral of the United Colonies Navy was born in 1718. William Ellery, a signer of the Declaration, was born in Newport in 1727 and was a graduate of Harvard College in 1747.

Samuel Ward, Governor and member of the Continental Congress, was graduating from Harvard College in 1743. James M. Varnum, a general in the Revolution, graduated from Brown University in 1769, laying off the student's gown to don the military coat for Revolutionary service. Nicholas Cooke, War Governor, was making saltpeter at the Colonial outbreak. John Brown, merchant, patriot, statesman, hero of the "Gaspee," was born in Providence in 1736. Silas Talbot, naval commander and commodore and builder of the frigate *Constitution*, was a captain, age twenty-four, at the siege of Boston. Joshua Babcock, deputy in the General Assembly, an ardent patriot, friend of Franklin, a major general of the Colonial Militia, was a medical practitioner at Westerly at the outbreak of the war. Stephen Olney, leader of the "Forlorn Hope," was ploughing the fields of his father's farm, a lad of nineteen, on the day of the Lexington fight.

These men were a fair type of the new generation of Rhode Islanders that was to bear an honorable share of the toil and sacrifice for democracy. Their inheritance was one of physical courage born of the hardships of pioneer life, narrow circumstance from hard earnings under the limitation of restricted trade, and a home education, united to the catechism and the three R's. Public schools were not known and all that Harvard and Yale had done was to give the people an educated ministry with licentiates for law and medicine. These men of fair learning had done much to help forward ambitious youths in secondary studies in the towns where their lot was cast, but this instruction reached but a few of the many. Rhode Island, at the opening of the Revolutionary period was an illiterate Colony and, if the opinion of our sister Colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts are accepted, a godless Colony as well. The story goes that a Rhode Island lad spent a Sabbath in a Connecticut town and in answer to a question of the Catechism, "How many Gods are there?" replied, "Dad says you have three Gods over here in Connecticut, but we haven't a darned one in Rhode Island," which was practically true in some parts of the Colony.

The half century from 1730 to 1780 witnessed a most remarkable upheaval, growth and controversy. The coming of Bishop Berkeley to Newport in 1729 introduced a great educational and religious force in the metropolis of the Colony. As a devout Churchman he gave a new impulse to the young churches of the Colony. As an educator and reformer, he set agencies in active work for the establishment of schools and the encouragement of secondary and higher education. In science, arts, philosophy and literature, Berkeley was not only a devout student, but an expert in practical work. Whitehall, his country seat on the Island, became the magnetic pole of the religious and educational interests of New England. The inspirational value of Bishop Berkeley in constructive

work in Rhode Island cannot be overestimated and the later movements for a Colonial college are traceable to Berkeley and Dr. Ezra Stiles. The great contribution of Berkeley to Rhode Island was a high idealism along lines of civil and religious liberty. His interest in missionary work among the Indians in the Colony illustrates his philanthropy and democracy. His gift of Whitehall and his valuable library to Yale College shows his practical benevolence and broad catholicism. Smibert, the Scotch artist who accompanied Berkeley, not only made a permanent record by his own art work, but directly inspired Allston, Copley and West, and indirectly, Gilbert Charles Stuart of Rhode Island. It is to the great honor of Newport and to the immense advantage of our Colony that our town by the sea housed, fostered and fraternized two of the greatest educational, social and religious men of the eighteenth century, George Berkeley, Dean of Derry and Bishop of Cloyne, and Ezra Stiles, minister of a Congregational Church at Newport and President of Yale College.

The great revival of religion under Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield and the Wesleys, stirred New England life and thought to their deepest depths. Rhode Island was awakened from a lethargic condition to spiritual life. The reactions of eloquent religious argument and appeal were tremendous and men and women dead in sensual things were made alive to the truths and presentments of eternal verities. Vital forces were touched and energized by a divine force, superior and absolute. Freedom from bondage was the watchword,—a freedom that involved civil and social and religious relations. Human rights and righteousness were parts of one whole. Free will and freedom were shown to be soul birthrights of all men of all races and conditions. A free man was he whom truth made free, under the only crowned ruler, the King of Kings. The Berkleian philosophy quickened the Rhode Island intellect. The Whitefield preaching awakened the Rhode Island conscience. Both opened the way for the incoming of a new and most welcome visitor,—Civil Freedom. While these great divines did not openly teach Colonial independence, they did unify and consolidate a people hitherto separated by individualism, and the divisive tenor and effect of selfish living. As a resultant, the Puritan Church entered upon the second stage of its development and progress towards a pure democracy. Prelacy in a mild form accompanied the Pilgrim to Plymouth and the Puritan to Salem and Boston. Both prelacy and democracy are innate in human nature, though antagonistic to each other. Puritan prelacy wrought its final expression in three forms of worship and polity, as represented in church organization in Rhode Island, in the Protestant Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Congregational bodies, the last, including Baptist, Unitarian and other bodies, in the same democratic polity.

Three men were the standard bearers of the freedom of the church member, and consequently of the individual church in the civil state, and may be styled the Fathers of a Free Church in a Free State. These men were Dr. John Clarke, of Boston and Newport, Rev. John Wise and Nathaniel Emmons of Massachusetts. As the church of the eighteenth century and its minister held an influential position in civil society, it is well to bear in mind that the mental, religious content was carried over into the thought processes of civil society; that the polity of the individual church might be, at the same time the working and workable basis of the state, a larger brotherhood. How far this religious democracy leavened the body politic it is not easy to determine, but from the fact that Rhode Island was distinctly a Baptist Colony after 1700, it is easy to understand that the Baptist Church membership, while sharply individualized in creedal statements, even to the crossing of a *t*, was coherent and passionately fond of its democratic mode of government. Congregationalism and independency in Church were the basic factors of loyalty to every form of civil freedom in the eighteenth century. Prelacy nurtured the kingly craft and Tory loyalists abounded in prelatical assemblies.

The philosophy of Congregationalism as a church polity and not a creedal basis rested on the doctrine that freedom was a natural law, one of the soul-born rights of man. "All authority," says Wise, "rests in the consent of the whole church, not on account of Christ as head and controller, but from man's nature and because democracy is the best government for both church and state. * * * A democracy in church or state is a very honorable and regular government, according to the dictates of right reason." It is an interesting fact that while Congregationalism was repeating to itself the words "freedom, a law of nature," Burlamaqui, an Italian statesman, a Protestant, at one period of his life a professor of learning at Geneva,—a man noted for practical sagacity,—was writing a work on "The Principles of Natural Law," which came to the American Colonists, as Fisher says, "as the most soul-stirring and mind-arousing message they had ever heard."

Burlamaqui's little book of 300 pages was translated into English in 1748 and became the handy guide book of freedom and independence for the patriot Colonists. In a clear and concise style the author had summarized the works of Clarke, Locke and Beccarea, and the book had found its way to the leading minds in all the Colonies. From it they had drawn wisdom and inspiration in preparation for the work of Colonial emancipation. "Natural law," said Burlamaqui, "springs from the constitution of man and the relations he holds to his fellows. This state of nature is not the work of man but of divine institution." * * * Natural society is a state of equality and liberty, a state in which all enjoy

the same prerogatives. * * * Every man is naturally master of himself and equal to his fellow creatures. * * * The human understanding is naturally right and has within itself a strength sufficient to arrive at truth."

Here we have liberty, equality and the right of private judgment founded on man's normal nature, and all conducive to a purpose, "the pursuit of happiness," a term which admits of wide interpretations. Civil government exists to protect natural rights, not to destroy them. The real normal ruler is the depositary of the will and strength of the peoples governed. One set of people have no right to rule over another, except by superior wisdom or excellence, a condition that cannot exist, if individual rights are admitted. All men are born politically equal, hence no one has a natural right to command or exercise dominion. A subject people can exist only by choice. All can be translated into the declaration, "A just government exists only by consent of the governed." It is easy to see that the leaders of the revolutionary party,—Franklin, Adams, Hancock, Hopkins, Henry, Jefferson, Hamilton and their associates were familiar with Burlamaqui as teacher and guide and that the Colonists of Rhode Island were acquainted with these principles of natural law and were consciously or semiconsciously gravitating towards independence, under the guidance of a wise and philosophic leader. Mental and moral preparedness waits its occasions. In due time it came.

We have seen Rhode Island Colony take the form of a Democratic Commonwealth in the early years of its foundation. This Democracy received the royal sanction and charter in 1663, under the controlling influence of its prime founder, Dr. John Clarke. For a century from that date, the Colonial government had exercised the functions of a free people, with but few exceptions of intrusions or interference. The eighteenth century had been one of growth in substance and idealism. Various forces in Church and State had developed a new patriotism, centered on Colonial development through a larger independence. Colony began to interchange with sister Colonies views on intercolonial relations for mutual services, information and protection. Questions as to Colonial rights and parliamentary wrongs were raised and considered. Grotius, Locke, Beccaria and Burlamaqui were studied and their conclusions carefully weighed and by many minds adopted. Practical questions of finance, taxation, commercial relations, representation, legislation, now press for solution from 1740 to 1780.

An aggressive and constructive policy now manifests itself in legislation and among the people of Rhode Island. Success in the establishment of the western boundary line of the Colony at the Pawcatuck River leads to renewed demands as to the fixation of the eastern bound. In 1740, a royal commission of fifteen men was appointed to agree upon

the line, to prepare a map of the territory and make a final report to the King. The Court met at Providence in June, 1741, choosing Cadwalader Colden as president, and after viewing the premises and hearing counsel for Rhode Island and Massachusetts, established the eastern line as follows: The north end of Narragansett Bay was fixed at Bullock's Point. From this point north, the line followed high water mark to Pawtucket Falls and thence due north to the established southern line of Massachusetts and northern line of Rhode Island. The Commission gave to Rhode Island all the land within three miles of the east shore of the Bay, measuring three miles northeast from the end of Bullock's Neck, designating five places from which the three mile lines were to be run, to the east and south. Both Colonies appealed from the decision, their appeals were heard by the King's Council and were dismissed and on May 28, 1746, a royal decree was issued, confirming the decision of the court and establishing the eastern line as described. By this decree, the territory of the present towns of Cumberland, Barrington, Warren, Bristol, Tiverton and Little Compton, with a part of the present city of Fall River, was added to the Colony of Rhode Island. On January 27, 1746-7, the General Assembly passed an Act incorporating the townships included in the new territory as Rhode Island towns, adding to Barrington a portion of territory, north of Bristol and east of the Barrington River, and naming it Warren, in honor of Rear Admiral Warren of Louisburg fame. At the following session of the Assembly in February, 1746-7, Warren and Bristol were incorporated as Bristol County, with Bristol as the Shire town, Tiverton and Little Compton were added to Newport County and Cumberland to Providence County. Thus ended during the Colonial period the fight a century long.

The issue of bills of credit continued in the New England Colonies, notwithstanding the efforts of Parliament to restrain such a false method of finance. The House of Commons sent an Address to Rhode Island, complaining of the injuries to British commerce and suspending the further issue. The General Assembly paid no heed to the order and created a new bank of £20,000 for ten years at four per cent. This issue was styled New Tenor from the fact that it was attempted to create a fixed value by estimating silver at nine shillings an ounce, while under the old bills silver was rated at twenty-seven shillings an ounce, while gold was estimated at £6, 12s., 4d. an ounce. Two assistants, Benjamin Ellery and Peter Bours and five deputies, one of whom was William Ellery, entered their protests against the issue, but without results, except to fix a new rating of gold and silver, so that a new tenor bill was four times the value of an old bill, and was soon required to be taken at that rate in exchange. In January, 1740-41, Governor Richard Ward wrote a long letter to the Board of Trade, London, in defense of the issue of bills of

credit and it is an interesting and instructive paper in favor of the action of the Colony. This letter is to be found in Vol. V, Colonial Records of Rhode Island, pp. 8-14, and is an enlightening document on the reasons for the issuance of paper money.

The second Spanish War, in 1739, roused the martial spirit of Rhode Island. Our maritime Colony had ships, sailors, stores and money and although Spain held supremacy on the seas, naval warfare was the favorite method of hostility at Newport and Providence, and our privateersmen usually returned to port with rich prizes, at small expense of men and money. Spain had instituted the right of search of vessels suspected of contraband trading in the Spanish American Colonies. England and the Colonies were constantly violating treaty stipulations. Newport was engaged in the manufacture of rum from Cuban stock so that the war became a struggle for an illicit trade by our Colony, but ostensibly for the freedom of the British flag. The "Molasses Act" of 1733, imposing a heavy tax on importations from the French and Spanish West Indies was an act of protection of the British sugar islands and a part of the system of protection for all parts of the empire. Smuggling had become an established business and the right of search and seizure of all Spanish trade threatened the interests of a great body of our citizens on Narragansett Bay, as well as the merchants of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. One Richard Partridge, a Quaker, had been the Rhode Island Colonial agent for many years and at this junction he appears as the representative of Rhode Island and other Colonies in opposition to the "Molasses Act" and other acts involving taxation of the Colonies. In his letter to the English Board of Trade, enclosing a petition for a repeal of the Act, he claimed that it divested the Colonists of their rights as Englishmen, in levying taxes against their consent, without a representation on the floor of the English House.

Here we have the first utterance of the war cry of the Revolution,— "NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION," issuing from the mouth of a Rhode Island Quaker, but expressive of the awakened mind and re-enforced courage of the new age of independence. Not only did Rhode Island speak clearly and forcibly on this subject, but the Assembly voted "that his Honor the Governor write to our agent, strenuously to oppose at home, the making any addition to the sugar act, that so much affects the Northern Plantations; and that his Honor also write to the neighboring governments, requesting them to join with us in opposing the same." It was Rhode Island initiative that declared for a true as against a false principle of Colonial control and still more it was the voice of the whole people of the Colony, speaking through its General Assembly, that invited the combined opposition of the sister colonies to the acts of a foreign Parliament.

It can be safely recorded that the Colony had been true and faithful to the home government in the various wars, in defence of England. In Queen Anne's War against Spain, 1702-1713, Rhode Island fortified the mainland and the islands, and maintained coast guards and garrisons. 1707. For the Dudley expedition against Nova Scotia 80 volunteers and a transport were furnished. 1709. Two war vessels and several transports, and 200 soldiers were sent on an expedition against the French in Canada. A tax of £1,000 for war purposes was raised. 1710. Rhode Island furnished 345 officers and men for the expedition against Port Royal. 1711. Twelve sailors and 167 soldiers were raised for an expedition against Canada. The treaty of Utrecht ended the war.

In the war of the Austrian Succession in Europe, in 1739, Rhode Island repaired fortifications, and established garrisons and coast guards. For spreading news of attack beacons were erected on Block Island, at Point Judith, Watch Hill, Beaver Tail, Newport and Portsmouth. In 1740, two hundred men were enlisted and equipped for an expedition against the Spanish West Indies. Many died of disease or were killed in an unsuccessful attack on Carthagena in 1741. When France entered the war as an ally of Spain, additional precautions for defence were taken. 1744. The colony sloop *Tartar*, with 130 men and 150 soldiers, joined Pepperell's expedition against Louisburg, which surrendered in 1745. Besides the colony's own quota, 350 Rhode Island men were sent under pay of Massachusetts, and 250 more under pay of Connecticut. Rhode Island's most significant service to England was on the sea. Captain Jones and a Rhode Island fleet dispersed a French force going to the relief of Louisburg. In 1745 more than 20 French prizes were captured by Rhode Island privateers. One Rhode Island privateersman, Captain John Dennis, was so successful that a French war vessel was sent out expressly to capture him. Captain Dennis, after a four-hour engagement, captured the French war vessel. Altogether more than 100 French vessels were captured by Rhode Island privateers. The war was ended by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748.

In the early Indian wars,—Pequot and King Philip's,—the Colonies suffered all the perils and losses, and furnished all the troops and supplies, without calling upon Britain for any aid. In the later stages of the war, when the French made the Indians their allies and our northern frontier was constantly threatened by hostile attacks and our coast towns exposed to privateersmen, Rhode Island, on land and sea, did her full share of offensive and defensive work. In 1754, a tax of £30,000 was levied, £5,000 to repair the fort at Newport. 1754-5-6. Rhode Island raised various forces of men; the number in service reaching 750 at one time. A regiment of 500 men was raised for the expedition to Crown Point. Captain John Whiting commanded a Rhode Island garrison at Fort Wil-

liam Henry, near Lake George. 1756. A new regiment of 500 men was organized; and two additional companies of 50 men each, and a second regiment of 500 men were raised. Operations were abandoned before the second regiment was prepared for marching, and it was disbanded. 1757. Another regiment of 500 men, under Colonel Samuel Angell, was enlisted. The regiment saw service in Canada. After the French victory at Fort William Henry, one-sixth of the militia was drafted and ordered sent to Albany. Two hundred and fifty freemen from Providence volunteered for service, and were preparing to march when news that the French had retreated reached the town. 1758. A regiment of 1,000 men was raised for service in Canada. Louisburg surrendered. More than 2,000 British troops, part of a new expedition against Canada, were quartered in Providence. Rhode Island troops participated in the disastrous battle of Ticonderoga, and in the capture of Fort Frontenac. 1759-1760. Rhode Island maintained a regiment of 1,000 men in service. These troops participated in campaigns against Quebec and Montreal. 1761-1762. Rhode Island furnished 400 men for an expedition against the French West Indies. 1762. Rhode Island was represented by 262 men in an expedition against Cuba. 1763. The Peace of Paris ended the war.

Rhode Island joined her sister Colonies, cheerfully and promptly, in furnishing men and money to aid in protecting the home government from her enemies, but refused both when demands were made to contribute to the material wealth of Great Britain, thereby illustrating the war cry, "Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute."

The quarter century, between 1740 and 1765, witnessed a great social and political revolution in the Colony of Rhode Island, in the course of which, the worst elements of individual and local prejudice, partisanship and passion, were exercised and the Colony divided into two hostile camps. The causes of the great upheaval are easily stated and understood. For over a century Newport held the political control of the Colony. The United Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations from 1647 to 1748, a full century, had been under Newport governors, with the exception of eleven years and the exceptions,—Williams, Jenckes and Greene, were acceptable to Newport politicians and people.

Population, wealth and intelligence held supremacy in the South. In 1730, Newport and Washington Counties had a population of 11,618, while the north part of the Colony reported Providence as having 3,016, and Kent County 2,401. Newport and South Kingstown were the wealthiest towns in the Colony. Socially and politically, Newport and Washington Counties were one body. Kent County was divided in its political choices, while Bristol County, created in 1747, took sides with Providence.

By the census of 1748, Newport and Washington Counties had grown to 19,498, while Providence and Bristol had 9,941, with Kent as a factor

of equal promise to the north and the south forces, having a population of 4,384. The three northern Colonies had a total of 14,325 against 19,498 on the south.

The people of the Colony were divided into the farming, the mercantile and the commercial classes. The farmers were as a class poor; the other two were well-to-do or rich for their day. To the survival of the inherited antipathies of an earlier generation, arose the natural, the inevitable breach between those who have and those who have not. Social distinctions breed political unrest and the ballot of the freeman is the great leveller of men and society. The voter must be a landowner and the farmers and their oldest sons had voting rights and privileges and used them.

The first half of the eighteenth century was not a religious period, nor was it distinctly moral, as men count morals of the twentieth century. Men and women knew the ten commandments and most had memorized the Shorter Catechism, but they had no idea of putting what they knew in daily practice. Slavery and the slave trade were treated as sources of social, economic and spiritual profit. The manufacture and sale of rum brought the wealth that gave rank in the best Rhode Island society. A privateersman and a smuggler could occupy the first pews in the Quaker meeting and in old Trinity. The house that could not support its sideboard with well filled decanters of rum, gin and brandy, was not held in esteem by the gentlemen who wore breeches, silver knee buckles and silk stockings, and the ladies with gold necklaces, low necks and flowing velvets. The farmer had his regular daily draughts of hard cider at home, slaking his evening thirst at the nearest tavern, where town and village gossips found free daily circulation. Debts never pressed hard on the mind or conscience of the debtor class, and the creditor was often equally oblivious of a neighbor's rights as debtor. It is no wonder that in all the Colonies of New England loose and false notions of finance should prevail and put in practise. At the outset, barter and exchange of goods were practised and the Indian peag, easily obtained, was used as a medium of trade. Later commercial transactions were carried on by the use of farm products as media of business. Corn, rye, oats, barley, beaver skins, were rated and quoted at fixed values in the public market. Later came silver and gold as standards of value.

In 1640, Massachusetts Colony passed a law that taxes, debts and labor could be paid in "good ould Indian corne, growing hear," at 5s. the bushel, summer wheat at 7s., rye at 6s., and silver plate at 5s. per oz.

The paper money inflation began in Rhode Island in 1710. At this time silver, the standard of values was 8s. per oz., on exchange.

Achilles' wrath, to Greece the direful spring
Of woes unnumbered, heavenly goddess, sing.

The peculiar woes of the Colony of Rhode Island afflicting it for a century, sprang from an inflated paper currency, producing a controversy of unparalleled bitterness, "distracting whole communities and even dividing families." The first issue of £5,000 in 1710, was followed by another of £8,000 and, in 1713, by another of £50,000 on the plan of a public bank, loaning bills of the Colony to any who would give mortgage security on their real estate and by paying an annual interest to the Colony. Two parties were created, "hard money" and "paper money." The merchant class stood for hard money; the farmers for bills of credit. Prior to 1741, the Colony had issued, in round numbers, bills of credit amounting to £500,000.

We are now facing the immorality, economic and political, of a false financial theory, held, maintained and practised in Rhode Island, in such a manner and to such an extent as to debauch the electorate, arouse the bitterest partisanship and threaten the life of the Colony. Two men present themselves as the representatives of these parties,—Samuel Ward and Stephen Hopkins,—both men of marked ability, of the best family and social connections and both of unquestioned patriotism. We must show a reason for a most unreasonable contest between otherwise reasonable men. Samuel Ward belonged to the Southland. His father was Richard Ward of Newport, secretary of the Colony for nineteen years, and governor four, a brother, Thomas, was secretary of state many years, and another brother, Henry, was secretary, thirty-seven years. All in all, the Wards were a family of natural office holders and most faithful servants of the Colony. Ward married Annie Ray of Block Island, settled on a dowried farm in Westerly, kept a village store, engaged in commerce both at Newport and Stonington, and raised, improved and exported Narragansett pacers. Samuel Ward was patrician and patron, inheriting and exercising all the good qualities of an ancient English stock, enhanced in value by a college education at Harvard and the stimulation of the golden age of Newport literary and social activity in the middle of the eighteenth century.

At this time, Providence had put off the lethargy of a century of idle inactivity and provincialism and had started on a career of mercantile and commercial progress. The new era really began with the advent of Nathaniel Browne of Swansea, a descendant of the third generation of Hon. John Browne of Wampanoissett. Mr. Browne began shipbuilding at Weybosset Point, in 1711. Massachusetts had put him in jail at Bristol for not paying the tax imposed upon him for the support of the Rehoboth Church, he being an Episcopalian. With skill and means at command, Browne built sloops and schooners up to sixty tons in size, using timbers from the forests about Providence and employing townsmen as ship carpenters. The new industry gave employment to seamen and the

white sails of commerce began to appear on the upper Narragansett. These vessels carried farm produce, timber staves, hoop poles, horses from the farms about the town, to the West Indies in exchange for molasses, sugar and other semi-tropical products. With the growth of commerce, old Providence began to thrive in wealth and people, and in 1730 the Plantations were divided into four towns, Providence, Smithfield, Scituate and Glocester. It was at this period that the enterprise of the Crawfords, the Browns, the Hopkins and other families began to manifest itself, sending its commercial travellers far and wide over the seas. The four "Brown Brothers," Nicholas, Joseph, John and Moses, all gained wealth and eminence as merchants and in 1760, the Brown family was operating no less than eighty-four sloops, schooners and brigantines.

The merchants and ship owners of Newport must have viewed with jealous eye the increase of sailing craft that passed their spacious and inviting harbor for the little, narrow, shallow harbor, at the head of tide water—Providence. Newport was the metropolis of southern New England, but it has a rival which is about to become a standing challenge to its commercial and political supremacy. Still more, the leader of the up-state people is a man of marked ability,—a member of the country yeomanry, and the recognized exponent of the patriotism and spirit of the farmer class, from which he sprang. Stephen Hopkins of Scituate is the recognized champion of the freemen of northern Rhode Island.

Stephen Hopkins was by nature a progressive and his entrance into the business and political life of Providence was most welcome to the new generation. He was the representative not only of the merchant class, but had preserved the friendship of the farmers, in his silence or apologetic attitude on the paper money question. In Providence, the issue of money was not raised in the presence of a more important matter, that of political supremacy.

The revolutionary process by which the sceptre of government passed from Newport to Providence began in the election of William Greene of Warwick to the governorship in 1743. Mr. Greene had been lieutenant-governor from 1740 to 1743, and succeeded Governor Richard Ward, the father of Samuel Ward, from 1743 to 1745. Gideon Wanton's wealth, character and social rank won him the office of governor for two single terms 1745-6 and 1747-8, contesting the office with Gov. Greene who wrested it from Wanton in 1746 for a single year and again in 1748, holding it for seven years. It was during Gov. Greene's career that the sectional strife began which continued for thirteen years in an irrepressible conflict, terminating in a drawn battle in 1768, between the chief contestants, with the victory falling to the Providence party.

It is difficult to state the adequate causes of the "Ward-Hopkins controversy." A thorough analysis of its origin would undoubtedly lead to

the two types of settlements at the upper and lower ends of the Bay, to the vast differences in character and potential development of the two sections, and the divergent tendencies growing out of commercial and educational conditions. The two sections had slight communications, little knowledge and complete independency of each other except in the brief sessions of the General Assembly. On questions relating to the independence of the Colony, the south part of the Colony and the leaders of the Anglican Church were intensely loyal to the British Crown. Providence was looked upon as an upstart town, with an ignorant as well as a poor population. They were people that could be led by a strong popular leader and Stephen Hopkins "was to the manner born." He was talented, progressive, popular. As the cause of Colonial independence progressed, Mr. Hopkins became the idol of the three northern counties, the great majority of whom espoused the cause of the Colony against the King. Hopkins was ambitious for office and the people chose him to every office in their gift. In 1754, Hopkins was one of the delegates to represent the Colony in the Albany Congress, and here his great abilities were recognized and his ideas as to Colonial independence enlarged. At this time he made close friendship with Franklin, endorsing fully his ideas and purposes. He also entered into correspondence with leading men in the other colonies with reference to relations with Great Britain, thereby forming valuable acquaintances and friendships of a lasting quality and brought him into the front rank of patriots at home.

The details of the war between Samuel Ward of Westerly and Stephen Hopkins of Providence are too voluminous, distressing and humiliating to be entered into except for the trouble-monger. The political fight waged hot in 1756-7, when Ward aided Governor William Greene of Warwick to defeat Mr. Hopkins for re-election in May, 1757, at the same time subjecting himself to a suit for libel. Governor Greene died Feb. 22, 1758, and Governor Hopkins was elected to fill the unexpired term and was re-elected until May, 1762, when Ward won the governorship for one year. Hopkins was elected for two years from 1763-5, and Ward followed for two years from 1765-7, to be succeeded by Hopkins for one year, 1767-8, when a truce was declared, both retired from the gubernatorial field and a Newport man, formerly secretary of state, Josias Lyndon, was chosen to the chief state office for a single year.

Both Hopkins and Ward were able men and governors and their administrations rank among the first in the Colony, but their political relations were hateful, their methods contemptible. The Colony was divided into two hostile camps—Ward and Hopkins. Families were divided, neighborhoods broken up, old time friendships and social order destroyed and the electorate was debauched by the free use of money in the purchase of votes. A vote could be bought for the price of a pig.

In King's County, Ward's home, the contest was the fiercest and vituperation and money flowed freest. Prof. Gammell says, "neighbor was arrayed against neighbor and family against family, in an irreconcilable feud." Foster writes, "the issues were hopelessly mixed, and it is not easy to discriminate accurately between them." He explains Hopkins' policy and act was the result "of a temporary madness." * * * "In the case of Ward, it is equally difficult to comprehend the blindness of this partisan feud." The spring of 1768 witnessed conditions in the relations of the Colonies to Great Britain that called for patriotism to still the strife of local politics and Governor Hopkins proposed a union of the factions, by the withdrawal of each of the leaders, himself and Governor Ward, and the nomination of a ticket for Colonial officers agreeable to both. The plan was adopted, the two parties were united, They now turned their thoughts from personal quarrels and local politics to prepare for a more momentous struggle, in which the Colony was about to engage. Historian Arnold closes his record of "this most violent party strife" with a clear and forcible statement of the issues that claimed the united attention of the American Colonies. (*History of the State of Rhode Island, etc.*, Vol. II, pp. 282-3).

By the Treaty of Paris, Feb. 10, 1763, the century-long contest came to an end, with England at peace with France, Spain and Portugal. Lecky says: "No part of the British Empire had gained so largely by the late war and the ministry of Pitt. The expulsion of the French from Canada and of the Spaniards from Florida, by removing forever the danger of foreign interference, had left the Colonists almost absolute masters of their destinies, and had dispelled the one dark cloud which hung over their future. No serious danger any longer menaced them. No limits could be assigned to their expansion. Their exultation was unbounded, and it showed itself in an outburst of genuine loyalty." The name of Fort Duquesne was changed to Pittsburg, in honor of the great minister, to whom the Colonies owed so much and Massachusetts voted a costly monument in Westminster Abbey to Lord Howe, who had fallen in the conquest of Canada. There was great reason in the gladness of the Colonies, for our enemies, the French on the north, the Indians on the northwest and west and the Spaniards on the south, had been vanquished and our gates were free from assault, for Great Britain was now mistress of the western lands and seas.

The British Empire had, in 1763, 8,000,000 people on her home soil, but those people were poor and already heavily burdened with taxes. Grenville stated "that the late war had found us 70 millions and had left us more than 140 millions in debt. He knew that all men wished not to be taxed, but in these unhappy circumstances it was his duty as a steward for the public to make use of all just means for improving the public

revenue." The Prime Minister also stated that after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the American civil and military establishment was only £70,000 a year, but it was now, in 1764, £350,000 a year. This was incurred on Colonial-American account and he thought that America ought to contribute toward it, paying a part at least. Grenville advocated the stamp tax as the surest, the easiest to collect and the most equitable as it would fall exclusively on property and could be collected by very few officers. "I am not, however," he said, "set upon this tax. If the Americans dislike it, and prefer any other method of raising the money themselves, I shall be content. Write therefore to your several Colonies, and if they choose any other mode I shall be satisfied, provided the money be raised." The taxation measure was postponed for a year from 1764 to 1765 to ascertain fully the sentiments of the people of the American Colonies as to the best and to them the most satisfactory way of aiding the British revenues. From the British standpoint, the taxation of the Colonies in aid of the home government, for protection at least, seemed a reasonable proposition. Franklin had given his assent to a taxation for protection, in 1764, when he wrote: "It is very possible that the Crown may think it necessary to keep troops in America henceforward, to maintain its conquests and defend the Colonies, and that the Parliament may establish some revenue arising out of the American trade to be applied towards supporting these troops. It is possible too that we may, after a few years' experience, be generally very well satisfied with that measure, from the steady protection it will afford us against foreign enemies and the security of internal peace among ourselves without the trouble and expense of a standing army of our own."

What shall be said for the Colonies? What for Rhode Island? The story of Charles Reade's "Needle Knight" of the Middle Ages fits Colonial conditions in 1764,—*"Tuta, tuta, tuta, tuta,—Too much taxes."* It was altogether reasonable for the British ministry and Crown to consult with her Colonies in matters of finance, for we were an integral part of the Empire as much as Ireland and India and Australia and Canada are to-day. No law, custom, tradition or reason exempted the thirteen Colonies from a reasonable form of revenue. "No taxation without representation" availed not nor does it now in all just demands of the English Crown on its subject Colonies the world over. It served as a political and popular outcry against any and all forms of taxation but it did not satisfy the judicial mind or the sober thought. It is true that both Pitt and Burke used the argument of non-representation, as a reason for the repeal of the Stamp Act, claiming that the presence of London Colonial Agents at the British Court was not in a true sense a fair and full representative act. But both had suggested that representation in the British Parliament, on the basis of population, or a Colonial Parliament were the

only true and just means of conciliating the American Colonies and preserving the liberties of English subjects in America. Burke's speech on Conciliation in the House of Commons, March, 1775, was not only a masterly defense of the Colonies, but it was at the same time a clear exposition of the British principle of free government, freed from the autocratic spirit, expressed by George III, in his treatment of the American Colonies, since 1763. Pitt's speech of 1766 denied the right of taxation of the Colonies, asserting that that right inhered in the Colonial legislatures and was limited to them by Colonial charters, and could not be exercised by the Crown, without making slaves of British Colonial subjects. Both statesmen approved of external taxation through revenue laws that applied alike to all nations, while both opposed laws of direct or internal taxation, like the Stamp Act, as illegal, immoral and unconstitutional. This view was opposed by Lord Mansfield, the Grenville ministry and by a large majority of the Commons, and the Stamp Act was passed, to go into effect Nov. 1, 1765. This act known in history as the Grenville Stamp Act, provided for the raising of revenue in the American Colonies by the sale of stamps and stamped paper for commercial transactions, real estate transfers, lawsuits, marriage licenses, inheritances, newspapers, etc.; it also provided that the British soldiers in the Colonies should be quartered in the homes of the people. Parliament, also, without a division, voted that it "had a right to tax the Colonies." This coercive and revolutionary measure passed the House of Commons, March 8, 1765, was concurred with by the House of Lords without debate and received the signature of a Commission, acting for "a monarch whose mind was wandering with insanity."

Let us look a little at the condition of the thirteen American Colonies at this time as given to the English ministry by Dr. Benjamin Franklin. He said there were about 300,000 white men in the Colonies between 16 and 60 years of age; that the population doubles in about 25 years; that the Colonists raised, clothed and paid during the late war near 25,000 men and spent many millions of money; that they paid many and heavy taxes amongst themselves for the support of the civil and military establishment of the country and for the debts contracted in the war. His answer to the question, "What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763?" is very remarkable but true: "The best in the world; they submitted willingly to the government of the Crown, and paid in all their courts obedience to Acts of Parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons or armies to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expense only of a little ink, pen and paper. They were led by a thread. They had not a respect but an affection for Great Britain, for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fond-

ness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Great Britain were always treated with peculiar regard. To be an Old-England man was of itself a character of some respect, and gave kind of rank amongst us."

To the question, "Will the people of America submit to pay the Stamp duty if moderated?" Franklin replied, "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms!" He further stated that the Colonists held that they could not justly be taxed by a Parliament in which they were not represented, but would not dispute revenue laws, since they drew a wide distinction between internal and external taxes. They could refuse the dutiable article, but could not avoid a forced tax. They could do without English clothes and wool, for the people would raise their own sheep, spin and make their own clothes. To the question, "Would the Assembly of America acknowledge the right of Parliament to tax them?" his firm answer was, "NEVER, NO, NEVER!"

Few questions of state policy had ever exercised the minds of English statesmen so profoundly and called forth the most forcible arguments for and against the taxation of the Colonies as proposed in the direct tax of the Stamp Act. Grenville led the ministry, ably seconded by Lord Mansfield,—William Murray,—one of the greatest classical and historical scholars England has ever produced. Although a Tory, Chief Justice Story said of Mansfield, "England and America, and the civilized world lie under the deepest obligations to him." His speech on "The Right of Taxation," delivered in the House of Lords, is the most complete argument ever made in its defence. Lord Campbell, a Whig in sentiment, said that the speech of Mansfield was one to which he "was never able to find an answer." Eloquent and captivating answers were made by Col. Isaac Barre, Gen. Conway, William Pitt and Edmund Burke, Whig advocates of the interests and rights of the American Colonies.

On the side of the Colonies the protests were prompt and forcible. Franklin's answer was endorsed from Massachusetts to the Carolinas. Mr. Joseph Sherwood, a London attorney-at-law was agent of the Rhode Island Colony at the Court of Great Britain. In January, 1764, the Colony had issued, from the pen of Governor Stephen Hopkins, a spirited and comprehensive remonstrance to the renewal of the Sugar Act. This able state paper was a complete answer to the arguments of English revenue officers in the imposition of the original tax and shows a knowledge of trade conditions and that England's markets would be vastly advantaged by the removal of the almost prohibitive tax, which led up to general smuggling. As a result, the revised sugar act of April 5, 1764, reduced the tariff on the imports of molasses and sugar by one half, but levied new duties on coffee, pimento, French and East India goods, and wines

from Madeira and the Azores, which had hitherto been admitted free. Gov. Hopkins' paper may be read in the Rhode Island Colonial Records, Vol. VI, pp. 378-83.

In November, 1764, Gov. Hopkins sent a message to the General Assembly on "the dangers that threaten this Colony with respect to the people's liberties. * * * The burdens put on the trade of the northern Colonies by a late act of Parliament are severely felt; the stamp duties intended to be laid upon them will be a still heavier burden; and the plan formed by the British ministry to raise as much money in America as has been expended must complete our ruin." A committee of the General Assembly, consisting of the Governor, Nicholas Tillinghast, Joseph Lippitt, Joshua Babcock, Daniel Jenckes, John Cole and Nicholas Brown, reported an address to his Majesty in relation to the duties and imposts laid and proposed to be laid on this Colony. It closes with the devout prayer "that while your Majesty's subjects justly exult in being governed by the best of Kings, the father of his people and the guardian of their liberties, your loyal Colonies may not, in your glorious reign, suffer any diminution of the advantages they have hitherto enjoyed.

"Whatever may be determined concerning them, the Governor and company of Rhode Island will ever remain, unalterably your Majesty's most loyal, most dutiful and most obedient subjects."

It seems almost treason to question the honesty of utterances of such men as Hopkins, Babcock, Jenckes and Brown as expressed in the closing paragraph of the address to the King, but when read in connection with the charges of ruining the Colony, the total loss of trade, the dangers of the loss of trial by jury, the dreadful portent of a stamp act, the draining of the Colonies, already very poor, of the little money they have, etc., etc., the balance may show a fair degree of loyalty of Colony to the Crown, deducing the usual adulations of subjects to the kingly power.

There followed this address a state paper, written by Governor Hopkins, which for philosophic statement, accurate and general scholarship, historic knowledge, a thorough understanding of the laws of trade, Colonial, national and international, a masterly defence of Colonial rights *versus* Parliamentary claims, a fine,—almost a refined sense of loyalty,—to the real Constitution of England and of the obligations of the Colonies to the Home Government, and finally for a patriotic, a fervent devotion to the principles of liberty—"the measure of the magistrates' power and the people's obedience," equals, if it does not surpass, any state papers of the Revolutionary Period. This masterly document, styled "THE RIGHTS OF COLONIES EXAMINED," was sent to the Colonial Agent in London as expressing the sentiments of the Colony of Rhode Island, on topics vital to Colonial life and liberty. It is well worth while to call this address adopted by the General Assembly of Rhode Island as our DECLARA-

TION OF RIGHTS,—the first full, clear, incontrovertible statement issuing from any Colony, relative to the duties and obligations of the Crown to ONE, and if to ONE, to ALL the American Colonies. This great document stamps Stephen Hopkins as one of the greatest of American statesmen. It should be read by every Rhode Islander, who wishes to know the causes of the American Revolution and the men who championed it. (See Rhode Island Colonial Records, Vol. VI, pp. 414-427, Ed. 1861).

A new menace threatened the liberties of the Colony of Rhode Island in a petition of a body of royalists to reduce our "republic," as it was called, to the position of the royal Colonies. The two "republics" of Rhode Island and Connecticut were to be dissolved, under the "new arrangement of New England" as proposed by Sir Francis Bernard, the royal Governor of Massachusetts. New York Colony was to have the Connecticut River for its eastern bound and Massachusetts was to include the territory from the Connecticut River to the Piscataqua, thereby extinguishing the Colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire. Governor Hopkins, ever on the alert for political mischief, aided in ending the new scheme. But the Stamp Act passed. The appeals of the Colonies were fruitless. "We might," said Franklin, "as well have hindered the sun's setting." "We have power to tax them and we will tax them," said one of the ministers of the Crown. Grenville decided to select Americans as stamp officers and the agents of the Colonies were invited to make the nominations. Franklin, representing Pennsylvania, chose a friend as Stamp Commissioner for that Colony. Not one of the Colonial Agents in London "imagined the Colonies would think of disputing the Stamp Tax with Parliament at the point of the sword." Otis, of Boston, had said, "It is our duty to submit," and even our intrepid Governor Hopkins had said, "Whatever may be determined—the Governor and Company of Rhode Island will ever remain most loyal, most dutiful and most obedient subjects." "If Parliament, in their superior wisdom, shall pass the Act, we must submit," wrote Thomas Fitch, of Connecticut, although he had earnestly opposed its enactment. His act of submission cost him the loss of the gubernatorial chair, in 1766.

The year 1765 opened in a calm; it closed in a tornado. The peace at the opening months was a suspense, ominous of the tremendous political convulsion that attended the birth of American Independence. The Colonies had hitherto acted as separate units; they needed and waited an unifying motive, a force-compelling unity, solidarity, resistance to oppressive acts in government. The passage of the STAMP ACT, April, 1765, will forever stand in history as the event that created the great Republic of the West. A wonderful arousal came, not on the part of officials of the Colonial government, but from the common people who were made to build and overthrow authority, when not exercised in the interests of

the common man. *It stands to the credit and honor of the Colony of Rhode Island that the Governor, the General Assembly and the people were loyally united in resistance to the principles expressed by the Stamp Act, and it is to the perpetual honor of Honorable Samuel Ward, Governor of the Colony of Rhode Island, that he stood alone among the Governors of "the old thirteen Colonies," in his refusal to take the solemn oath to support the Stamp Act.*

The speech of Col. Barre in Parliament against the Act was an impassioned burst of eloquence that could not be confined within four walls. The Colonies heard it and it was rehearsed in every Colonial Assembly from Massachusetts to Georgia. Boston solicited the portraits of Conway and Barre for Faneuil Hall. John Adams and Sam Adams in Massachusetts, George Washington and Patrick Henry in Virginia, Roger Sherman in Connecticut, Samuel Ward in Rhode Island and great spirited men in other Colonies took up the patriotic words "Independence," "Pitt and Liberty," "Liberty, property, no stamps," "the Stamp Act is against Magna Charta," "join or die," and in stirring addresses aroused the people to be ready to resist the operations of the Stamp Act, to be put into operation in November, 1765. The people of all the Colonies were thoroughly aroused to the issue and the great body of the Colonists were rebellious to the new claim of the Crown, public meetings being held by the Sons and Daughters of Liberty in all the Colonies. Two millions of people were aroused by patriotic thought to decisive and far-reaching acts. In July, 1765, the Massachusetts House of Representatives proposed a Congress of Delegates of all the Colonies to be held in New York in October, to consider the condition of the Colonies and to take action for their relief. The call was sent to all the Colonies. Meanwhile the great awakening proceeds.

In Providence no open acts of violence occurred. A special town meeting was held August 7, 1765, to consider what action the town would take. A committee, consisting of Stephen Hopkins, Nicholas Cooke, Samuel Nightingale, Jr., John Brown, Silas Downer and James Angell, was chosen to draft instructions to their delegates in the General Assembly. At an adjourned meeting held August 13, the committee reported recommendations and instructions, which were unanimously adopted, in substance the same as had been passed by the House of Burgesses in Virginia, and written by the liberty-inspired pen of Patrick Henry. At the session of the Rhode Island Assembly, held at East Greenwich, in September, 1765, the Providence Resolutions were adopted, with two important amendments; one denied the right of the British government to tax the Colony, and the other guaranteed protection to the Colonial officers, in their opposition to the enforcement of the Stamp Act. The General Assembly endorsed the proposal of Massachusetts for a Colonial Congress

in New York, in October, and, in Grand Committee, the two Houses chose Henry Ward, Secretary of the Colony and Metcalf Bowler of Newport, as Commissioners to represent the Colony in the New York Congress. The Commissioners were instructed to stand for the principles set forth in the six Resolutions of the Assembly. An extra issue of the Providence Gazette appeared, after a period of suspension, with the words "VOX POPULI VOX DEI" in bold type above the title, with the motto below, "*Where the SPIRIT OF THE LORD is, there is LIBERTY. St. Paul.*" In the same paper, Hon. Augustus Johnston, the Attorney General of the Colony, who had been appointed stamp distributor for Rhode Island, announced his resignation, refusing "to execute his office against the will of *Our Sovereign Lord, the People.*"

At Newport violent demonstrations took place. Effigies of Augustus Johnston, Martin Howard, Jr., an eminent lawyer, and Dr. Thomas Mof-fat, a Scotch physician, all of whom had incurred popular odium by advocating the measures of Parliament, were drawn through the streets, hung on a gallows in front of the court house and, in the evening, were cut down and burned in the presence of a multitude of people. On the next day, the houses of these men were plundered by a mob and they fled for their lives on board the "Cygnet," a British sloop-of-war in the harbor. The revenue officers, afraid of losing their lives at the hands of the furious mobs, closed the customs and fled for safety to the same ship, refusing to return to their duties until protection was guaranteed. The arrest of Samuel Crandall, a ring leader of the mob, a protecting guard and a promise to regulate the customs fees according to the orders of the General Assembly restored the officers to their usual duties. A plan to capture a prize sloop, loaded with molasses, then under the protection of the guns of the "Cygnet" was frustrated by the wise action of Gov. Ward. Wiser counsels prevailed in a Newport town meeting, held Sept. 3, 1765, in which the Deputies were instructed to give their "utmost attention to those important objects—the Court of Admiralty and the Act for levying stamp duties," at the September session of the Assembly. They were reminded that "It is for liberty, that liberty for which our fathers fought, that liberty which is dearer to a generous mind than life itself, that we now contend, the causes vast and important." Rhode Island had thus, by the deliberate acts of the great majority of her people, by the General Assembly and by her intrepid and patriotic Governor, set the seal of Colonial and popular disapproval of the Stamp Act and an absolute denial of the right of the British government to tax the Colonies. In this position, the Colony found herself in full accord with her sister Colonies.

The second General Congress of all the Colonies, based on the principle of that held at Albany, in 1748, met at New York, on Monday, October 7, 1765. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania,

Maryland and South Carolina were represented by delegates, chosen by the legislatures of those Colonies. New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware were present by delegates authorized by other bodies; New Hampshire, not present, agreed to abide by the decision, even with a hostile Crown Governor; a delegate from Georgia arrived before adjournment. Two Colonies, Virginia and North Carolina, were absent, as their Colonial Assemblies had not met to choose delegates.

The New York Congress was the first session of the Colonies by delegates, in which the foundation principles of Colonial governments were discussed, and an affirmative declaration made. It is quite safe to affirm that this body, by the comparison of various Colonial views, and the elimination of the narrower, was able to agree on and to declare unanimously the principles of American Independence, and Democracy as affirmed by the issues of the Revolution, twenty years later.

Otis of Massachusetts was instructed to support the liberty of the Colonies and their chartered rights.

Rhode Island declared that the people of this Colony have enjoyed the right of being governed by their own Assembly in the articles of taxes and internal police—rights constantly recognized by the King and people of Britain.

Johnson of Connecticut pleaded the charter rights of the Colony from the Crown.

Robert R. Livingston of New York would not place the hope of the American Colonies on the infirm basis of chartered rights.

Christopher Gadsden, later a general in the Revolution, was aroused to a high pitch of passionate eloquence against the claim of charter rights. "A confirmation of our essential and common rights as Englishmen may be pleaded from charters safely enough, but any other dependence upon them may be fatal. We should stand," said Gadsden, "upon the broad common ground of those natural rights that we all feel and know as men, and as descendants of Englishmen. I wish the charters may not ensnare us at last by drawing different Colonies to act differently in this great cause. Whenever that is the case, all will be over with the whole. There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent, but all of us Americans."

It was this high note of natural right, instead of the lower of charter privilege, that ruled the Congress, and thereafter reference to royal grants was avoided. Bancroft calls this the first great step towards INDEPENDENCE. Livingston, Gadsden, and the Congress of 1765, declared for American self-existence and union, by claiming rights that outran charters and would exist long after charters had had their day and ceased to be. In the debates of this Congress, continuing for two weeks, "the liberty, privileges, and prerogative" which the Colonies "ought to enjoy" were

the subjects considered. James Otis of Boston was the master of all subjects, throwing light on all. Livingston wanted to concede the right of Great Britain to regulate Colonial trade, but Rutledge of South Carolina vehemently opposed the concession and all restrictions were declared grievances. Gadsden and Lynch of South Carolina were dissatisfied with pleas and petitions to Parliament but yielded, "for," said he, "union is most certainly all in all." The final declarations of the Congress of New York of Rights and Grievances were substantially these:

The right of trial by jury should not be abridged.

That the people of the Colonies are not and cannot be represented in the British Parliament.

That taxes never have been and cannot be constitutionally imposed on the American Colonies.

That taxes can only be imposed by Colonial legislatures for their respective Colonies.

That all supplies to the Crown are free gifts.

That for the people of Great Britain to make claims on the property of the Colonists was not reasonable nor consistent with the principles or spirit of the British Constitution. These inherent rights and liberties are necessary for the most effectual connection of America with the British Empire.

On the morning of October 25, 1765, the anniversary of the accession of George III to the throne, the Colonial Congress of 1765 held its last session, when the delegates of six Colonies with two exceptions, and the assent of five other Colonies, set their hands to the Declarations and the Colonies became, as they expressed it, "a bundle of sticks, which could neither be bent nor broken."

The British ministry received the news of the opposition of the Colonies to the Stamp Act, with great surprise. The Colonial agents had been chosen and all the Colonial Governors, except Samuel Ward of Rhode Island, had agreed to sustain the Act. The ship, bringing stamps, arrived in New York harbor while the Congress was in session. At once all the vessels in the harbor lowered their colors, and the night following notices were posted on the doors of all public offices, threatening the first man who should distribute or use stamped paper. "Assure yourselves the spirit of Brutus and Cassius is yet alive." The speech of Sam Adams of Massachusetts reached England with the Declaration of Congress. The Ministry were amazed, and in doubt what course to pursue. Some favored resort to arms to compel the Colonies to submit, but the conservative members hesitated to enforce the Act by armed force. A circular was sent to all the Colonial Governors, counselling "lenient and persuasive measures," and the Crown and ministers, in great anxiety, awaited the news from the Colonies following the advent of the stamp

ships. But the people had settled the question and the New York Congress but voiced their firm, united resolve. On the first day of November, 1765, not a stamp was to be seen in any American Colony. The stamp distributors had resigned, some by force, others by choice. From New Hampshire to Georgia, the day was ushered in by the tolling of muffled bells, and pennants at half mast. Children shouted on the streets, "Liberty, property, and no stamps." In Newport, at a town meeting presided over by Governor Ward, a night patrol was organized and a military guard established. The customs' officers at Newport sent to Augustus Johnson for stamps. He replied that he had given up the office and sent the stamps on board the war-sloop, *Cygnets*. So complete was the closure of all stamp supplies, that while business continued in usual fashion, all affairs that under the new law of Nov. 1, called for stamps, were illegal and void. Legally, the ordinary processes of government were ended, all legal processes were invalid, commercial transactions ceased, ships could not sail, courts could not be held, marriages were forbid, deeds could not pass, writs were unservicable, and even many of the usages of domestic life were held up by the stamp law. The British Parliament had strangled the civil life of the Colonies, *de jure*, but not *de facto*, for business did continue. The judicial courts held their sessions, ships sailed with flags at full mast and Rhode Island Colonial life went on, in usual style. November 28 was made a day of joyous thanksgiving for manifold blessings, chief of which was a united people against an unjust taxation.

The Stamp Act had much to do in the breaking down of social, church and civil barriers that had separated the people of the Colony. In a common cause of defence, the bitter Ward-Hopkins war came to a longed-for end. In a great contest for liberty, personal ambitions and party differences seemed childish trivialities, for homes, property, manhood, Colonial life and freedom were now at stake. Clubs, called "Sons of Liberty" sprang into being and active service from the Colonial youth of all the Colonies, but it was the peculiar honor of Rhode Island of initiating an order of young women, known as "Daughters of Liberty." Eighteen young ladies met at Dr. Ephraim Bowen's, by invitation and spent the day from sunrise to sunset in spinning. They resolved to purchase no more British-made cloth until the Stamp Act was repealed, and cut out *tea* at the evening entertainment. "The Daughters" grew in numbers and patriotism rapidly, so that the next meeting was held in the hall of the State House, where the District Court now meets, for the purpose of spinning and weaving a handsome piece of linen, to be given as a premium to the person who should raise the largest amount of flax in the County of Providence during the year 1766. "Liberty meetings" were held in Providence, Newport and other towns and "Liberty Trees" were

planted or dedicated and "Liberty Poles" erected. At a "Liberty meeting" in Providence this bold declaration was made that the people would resist the Stamp Act, even to "the destruction of the union" of the Colonies with Great Britain. In Newport, Capt. William Read, a deputy from that town in the Assembly gave a piece of land, on which the people planted a "Liberty Tree," an example which was followed in other towns in the Colony. A similar high tide of public sentiment flooded all the American Colonies, to oppose the operations of the odious act.

George the III. opened Parliament December, 1765, "provoked" and "humiliated." He claimed that "protection of the Colonies demanded obedience"—the spirit of absolute monarchy, not the British Constitution. Rockingham, the future prime was dumb. Grenville urged repression or suppression. The great statesman Pitt, inspired by the Colonial spirit and acts, declared, "I rejoice that America has resisted." Burke, in his maiden speech in the Commons urged the reception of the petition of the New York Congress. From the closing days of 1765 to March 18, 1776, the British Parliament debated Crown rights *vs.* Colonial rights. On that day George III. rode in state to Westminster and gave his assent to "the fatal repeal of the Stamp Act," an assent that he ever after regarded "as the well-spring of all his sorrows." With the large majority vote of repeal came the provocative declaration of the right of Parliament to tax or control the Colonies as might seem best for British interests.

Great joy, alloyed by the claim of supreme right filled the hearts of the Colonists, at the news of the repeal. At the June session of the General Assembly, at Newport, Samuel Ward, Governor, a committee was chosen, consisting of John Jepson, John Andrews, Metcalf Bowler, George Hazard and Henry Ward "to prepare an humble address of thanks to His Majesty, for giving his royal assent to the bill for repealing the Stamp Act." It was also voted, that on His Majesty's birthday, June 4th, a royal salute should be fired at Fort George, "one gun fired at the morning and another at the conclusion of that joyful day," for "his great goodness" in assenting to the repeal of the Act. Thanks also of the Assembly were voted to London merchants for promoting the repeal. While we can heartily appreciate the joy of the Colonists, it is not easy to assent to the apparent and undoubtedly honest worshipful attitude toward the malignant usurper of Colonial rights, George III, of mixed memories of gratitude and hate. The "Gazette" describes the gay gala day of June 4th at Providence. Bells were rung, cannon boomed, flags hoisted, drums beat, trumpets blared,—every conceivable mode of noisy rejoicing was engaged in. The Presbyterian meeting house was filled with joyful people to hear Rev. Mr. Rowland tell how "the Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." Ps. 126, 3v. The Assembly made the court house and the parade the centres of the day's

doings. Here a royal salute of 21 guns was fired, the King's health drunk in royal punch, "thirty-two of the most loyal, patriotic and constitutional toasts drank," midst the sounds of trumpets, drums and huzzas, the multitude treated by the gentlemen of the town,—an old-time drunk,—108 sky rockets with a bee-hive containing 106 serpents were "played off." At nine o'clock "an elegant boiled collation was served," and at eleven the joyous birthday ended in a grand ball given by town gentlemen in honor of "THE DAUGHTERS OF LIBERTY." "The whole was carried on to general satisfaction and without hurtful accident." The celebration of June 4th was continued for several years until it was superseded by July 4th, for which it had proved a precursor and usher.

In May, 1766, Sherwood, the agent of our Colony at London wrote to Governor Ward relative to the new acts of trade and navigation agreed upon by the House of Commons by which he says, "Every grievance of which you complained is now absolutely and totally removed." The duties upon molasses, syrups, sugars, coffee, pimento, cotton, wool and indigo were removed, with a few exceptions as to coffee and pimento and a small tariff on molasses; all receipts for dutiable goods were to be used for protecting the Colonies. Following the repeal of the Stamp Act and information as to the proposed acts of the new ministry and Commons, Governor Ward addressed a letter to the Ministerial Secretary of the Crown, expressing the "joy, tranquillity and happiness" that pervaded the Colonies, calling for the "most affectionate, dutiful and grateful returns;" "they are so firmly attached to their Sovereign, and to the British Constitution—so truly sensible of the parental goodness of the Mother Country, that she may rely upon every possible convenience and advantage from them."

In November, 1767, an Act of Parliament laying duties on paper, glass, paints, teas, etc., went into operation. As imports were subject to the demands of the people it was purely a matter within the control of the Colonists, as the Act was not imperative as to imports and the Act was rendered nugatory by the will of the people in refusing to purchase the goods. This Act was really for the encouragement of domestic industries and Providence appointed a committee for promoting the interest of the Colony and for avoidance of the payment of duties. As a result of this action the citizens of Providence resolved to encourage home industries, economy and manufactures, and in February, 1768, invited to the Colony all sorts of tradesmen, manufacturers, workers of all names in wood and iron, stating that the Rhode Island climate was salubrious and conditions of living favorable to all classes of enterprise, capital, labor and trade. The prices current in Providence in 1768 certainly favored the consumer at the expense of the producer when wheat was 45 cts. a bushel, rye, 37 cts., Indian corn, 25 cts., beef, veal and mutton, 3

cts. a lb., pork, 4 cts., butter, 8 cts., cheese, 5 cts., salt, 25 cts. a bushel, sugar $4\frac{1}{2}$ cts. a lb., firewood, \$1.10 a cord.

Providence dedicated its "Liberty Tree," in July, 1768. This famous elm stood in front of the Joseph Olney tavern, on Olney street. Silas Downer, Esq., gave the liberty address to a great assembly of citizens, on their duties for "the support and maintenance of that liberty, which our renowned forefathers sought out and found under trees and in the wilderness." On the 25th of July, 1769, "the merchants, traders, farmers and mechanics, and in general, all the 'Sons of Liberty' in Providence and the neighboring towns" met at "the Liberty Tree" to consult and agree upon effectual measures to discourage the importation and consumption of European goods. Another meeting was held on October 17th to act in unison on the expected arrival of an English vessel with British goods, contrary to the Citizens' Agreement of 1767. A week later a town meeting was held to "discourage luxury and extravagance in the use of Bristol and foreign manufactures and superfluities" and to encourage by all laudable means home manufactures, more especially articles made of wool and flax, the staple products at that time of Rhode Island farmers.

Early in 1770, the rumor was current that some Boston merchants had broken the non-importation agreement, and this report led to a meeting of Providence merchants, when it was found that some of Providence were also guilty. This knowledge led to a special town meeting, May 31, when it was resolved "that no general importation of European and India goods, from Great Britain, take place in this town, until a general importation take place in the neighboring Colonies." Stephen Hopkins, Darius Sessions, Ephraim Bowen, John Jenckes, Nicholas Brown, Nicholas Cooke and Job Sweeting were chosen to see that the agreement be complied with. A committee was also chosen to ferret out contraband imports, consisting of Jabez Bowen, Jr., John Brown, John Jenckes, Joseph Bucklin and Benj. Cushing, Jr. Reports injurious to the good name of the town continued to be circulated when the Boston Committee of Trade made report that the town of Providence had faithfully adhered to the non-importation agreement. By general consent the agreement was rescinded in October, 1770. A remarkable trial took place in the Superior Court of Rhode Island in the County of Providence, involving the legality of the non-importation agreement. The Committee of Inspection of the City of New York discovered that one David Hills, of Wrentham, Massachusetts, was selling goods embraced in the non-importation agreement, and they induced him to deposit them in the hands of a merchant, whom they named, to be delivered back to him on the repeal of the Acts of Parliament. A mob seized and burned the goods in the streets. Hills brought a suit in the Rhode Island Court against some of the New York Committee, whose property he found in Rhode Island,

under the plea that his property was taken from him under threats. Able counsel was employed on both sides, and the business of the plaintiff made him and his cause unpopular. The judges of the Court were subject to a biennial election. Stephen Hopkins was Chief Justice, with James Helme, Benoni Hall, Metcalf Bowler and Stephen Potter as associates. The jury came from Providence County and did not receive any charges from the Court, yet judgment was given for the plaintiff—a memorable instance of the sacred regard for truth and justice, in opposition to personal and popular prejudice, the plaintiff being also a stranger, without local acquaintance or influence and whose conduct was held as injurious to the cause of liberty. At the succeeding election, Governor Hopkins was re-elected Chief Justice and the other members of the Court with one exception. And this was the court that modern jurists and historians characterize the "Farmers' Court," with the "Rule of Thumb."

In 1769, Joseph Wanton of Newport, was elected Governor, holding the office until his deposition, Nov. 7, 1775. It was during Governor Wanton's term that the most daring and revolutionary act against the government of Great Britain took place in Narragansett Bay, in the event of the capture of His Majesty's schooner "Gaspee," Lieutenant William Duddingston, commander, the wounding of Duddingston and the burning of the vessel to the water's edge, on the night of June 9, 1772. The significance of the transaction appears in the fact that it took place in the smallest and weakest of the Colonies, that it was carried on by citizens, yeomen of the town of Providence, in an unpremeditated action, that it involved the destruction of the property of the Mother Country and endangered the lives of British subjects and that it did cause the shedding of blood of a British naval officer,—the first blood of what we call the American Revolution. This act was no less than constructive treason and the persons participating were embryo traitors to the British Government, but patriots in defence of their own. The story reveals the character and spirit of the Rhode Island Colony, and the event outranks the Boston Tea Party, and the destruction of the British armed sloop "Liberty," and worthily companions the heroic deeds of Lexington and Concord.

While the Hill case was occupying the judicial mind of the Colony, the commerce of the Bay towns was harassed by His Majesty's schooner "Gaspee," with eight guns, in company with the "Beaver," both stationed at Newport to enforce the revenue acts. Commander Duddingston had annoyed the coasters of the Bay, detaining and examining them on the slightest occasion, stopping even the market boats for the Bay towns and in some cases plundering the inhabitants on the shores. His acts were illegal in that he failed to show his commission and in sending captured vessels and property to Boston for trial, contrary to Rhode Island laws.

Providence merchants made complaint to the Governor, who, on consulting Chief Justice Hopkins, was advised "that no commander of any vessel has a right to use any authority in the body of the Colony," without previously applying to the Governor, showing his warrant and sworn to a due exercise of his office. Gov. Wanton, acting as instructed, sent to Duddingston to produce his commission and instructions, to which Duddingston sent an arrogant reply. Wanton repeated his demand. Duddingston sent the Governor's letter to Admiral Montague at Boston, who replied in a saucy letter, ridiculing the Governor, defending Duddingston and threatening "to hang as pirates," the parties who should attempt to rescue a prize. Gov. Wanton replied saying, "I do not receive instructions for the administration of my Government from the King's Admiral in America," sending both letters to the General Assembly for advice. Wanton's letter was endorsed and copies of both were sent to England. Governor Wanton also wrote to Lord Hillsborough complaining of the Admiral's insolence and the conduct of Duddingston. Duddingston also wrote to Boston, telling the Admiral that he had knowingly violated the law in sending a captured sloop, loaded with rum to Boston, giving as a reason that it could not be safely held at Newport. He stated that the rum was owned by Nathaniel Greene, a deputy in the Assembly from Coventry. In this he made a serious mistake, as the owners were Jacob Greene & Co., of Warwick, who, in July, brought suit and recovered their property from illegal seizure by Duddingston. The "Gaspee" commander, enraged at the bold assertiveness of the Rhode Island Colonists became more energetic and punctilious in the enforcement of the British revenue laws, and his conduct, in the same degree, became more exasperating to the merchants and commerce carriers of the Colony. On the 8th of June, 1772, the sloop "Hannah," Captain Benjamin Lindsey, touched at Newport, on her way from New York to Providence, and reported her cargo to the Custom House, the only one in the Colony. On the 9th, Capt. Lindsey set sail for Providence, the "Gaspee" following. As the sloop was a lighter draught vessel than the "Gaspee" and as her captain was more familiar with the soundings of the Bay, he resolved on a plan to ground the "Gaspee" on one of the projecting points and thereby end the chase. He chose a sandy point, over the shallows of which he could safely run at high tide, and, if the "Gaspee" should follow, he well knew that her race would suddenly end. Unwittingly, Duddingston followed closely on Lindsey's course, and, to his great mortification, his vessel grounded, hard and fast at high tide, while Lindsey exultingly crossed the sand bar, in perfect safety, and landed in due time in Providence harbor.

The sandy point, on which the "Gaspee" grounded, was on the west shore of the Bay, below the mouth of the Pawtuxet River. There are two points on the Warwick shore, on either of which the vessel may have

been caught. One is Namquit or Gaspee Point, about a mile and one-half below Pawtuxet. This is a short point and to cross it a pilot must take pains to hug the west shore of the Bay. About two miles below Namquit Point is Conimicut Point, which is a long point, extending half way across the Bay, towards Nayatt Point. This point has only six or eight feet of water at high tide and to navigators not familiar with the bay, it could be used by a skillful seaman to lure an unsuspecting pursuer easily to his capture by the sands. Which of the two points caught the Gaspee is to-day a matter of conjecture, with the record of historian Arnold in favor of Namquit. Captain Lindsey arrived at Providence about sunset and told the story of the grounding of the "Gaspee." The town crier, by beat of drum, called a meeting of Providence citizens at the Sabin Tavern in the evening. Here the story of the enemy's situation was told and plans were speedily made to seize and destroy the schooner, and make prisoners of the officers and crew. Mr. John Brown, merchant, one of the four Brown Brothers, provided eight long-boats with five oars each, and these were filled with ship captains, merchants and other citizens of the town,—men of character and influence, under the command of Capt. Abraham Whipple, afterwards a captain in the Continental Navy. The party embarked from the wharf, at the foot of Planet Street, about ten o'clock in the evening, and with muffled oars, undisguised, they rowed down the stream on their patriotic but dangerous undertaking, for had the commander of the "Gaspee" anticipated trouble, the expedition might have failed at the expense of many valuable lives. On their approach to the "Gaspee," the flotilla was joined by a boat from Bristol. It was long past midnight as they approached the schooner, when a sentinel on guard hailed, "*Who comes there?*" No answer. He hailed again and no answer was made. Shortly, Duddingston mounted the starboard gunwale, hailing, "*WHO COMES THERE?*" No answer. He hailed again as the boats approached, when Capt. Whipple answered, "I am the sheriff of the County of Kent, G—d d—n you; I have got a warrant to apprehend you—so surrender!" Shots were fired from the schooner and returned by the boats. A musket ball, fired by Joseph Bucklin, wounded Duddingston in the groin and he fell to the deck, blood flowing freely. The boatmen boarded the schooner at the bows, drove the crew below and took possession of the vessel. The men surrendered and were put on shore. Duddingston's wounds were attended by Dr. John Mawney, a student of medicine, and was taken to the house of Joseph Rhodes at Pawtuxet. As soon as the schooner was cleared of her crew she was set on fire, the party returning to their homes in the early morning of June 10. The last survivor of the "Gaspee" party was Ephraim Brown, who died in 1840, at the age of 87 years. An event like the burning of the "Gaspee" was not an every day affair. It occurred under singular and exasperating cir-

cumstances. But it was an expression of the Colonial mind and spirit,—not of Rhode Island only but of all the American Colonies. It aroused a sympathetic response in the Colonial family on the Atlantic Coast. It was systematic. Had British rulers and statesmen interpreted it aright, it would have proved a danger signal to avert greater calamities. Instead of a clear and full investigation of causes of conflict and providing the proper remedies, it was made the occasion of unjustified punishment and unjustifiable treatment of Colonial subjects, which widened the breach between the Colonies and the home government. Arnold says: "The affair of the "Gaspee" is still more deserving of commemoration, as it was the first bold blow in all the Colonies for freedom and the earliest (British?) blood shed in the War of Independence. It was the beginning of the end. The Revolution had commenced."

Efforts were made to discover and punish the offenders. Gov. Wanton issued a proclamation offering one hundred pounds sterling to any person who would furnish evidence sufficient for conviction. When the news of the "Gaspee" affair reached England, King George offered a reward of £1,000 each for the arrest and conviction of the two leaders and £500 each for any other of the participants with a full pardon to any one concerned, who would expose the others. A commission, of which Gov. Wanton was chief, was named to inquire and report the facts in the case, and if discovered to send any and all persons to England for trial. After a three weeks' session of the Court, a final report was made to the King, that the Judges had failed to obtain any material facts or to discover the persons engaged in the affair, as "the whole was suddenly and secretly." The report commended the action of the inhabitants and the local government and declared the acts of Duddingston to be imprudent and arbitrary.

The findings of the Court were certainly most remarkable for the men who engaged in the plan to destroy the "Gaspee" were well known. Some of them were among the most prominent merchants and honorable citizens of the Colony, and some of the younger men had openly boasted of their share in the bold plot. Add to the general knowledge of the men who took part, and the large sum offered in rewards, about \$5,000, it would seem to have been an easy task to bring the offenders to trial, but it stands as a memorable and honorable act of patriotism that no person could be found who knew anything about the affair.

"Where ignorance was bliss, 'twas folly to be wise."

The "Gaspee" affair interested all the Colonies. An act of the smallest Colony was a lesson and an inspiration for all. Hutchinson proposed to annul the Royal Charter of Rhode Island. A letter was sent to Sam Adams for advice. His answer counselled union, "since an attack on the liberties of one Colony was an attack on the liberties of all." Gover-

nor Wanton received orders to send Gaspee offenders to England for trial, when apprehended. Chief Justice Hopkins said, "Then, for the purpose of transportation for trial, I will neither apprehend any person by my own order, nor suffer any executive officers in the Colony to do it." Here was patriotic courage, pure and simple. It was in this year, 1773, that Inter-Colonial Committees of Correspondence, suggested by Virginia, were formed and organized as the first step toward Colonial union. This was the initial step towards a Colonial Congress. Rhode Island chose Metcalf Bowler, speaker of the House, Ex-Governor Hopkins, Moses Brown, William Bradford, Henry Marchant, Henry Ward and John Cole, as its Committee. About this time, Franklin obtained in England, a letter written by one George Roome, an English agent for creditors in England, who had spent fourteen years in Rhode Island, in which he had denounced the courts and government of this Colony and the rebellious spirit of all the Colonies, and urged the establishment of royal governments throughout America as the only mode of averting impending evil. This letter was spread abroad in the Colony and its author was denounced in town meetings in Providence, Johnson and Coventry. Roome was brought to the bar of the House of Deputies to answer for his libellous letter, and refusing to answer questions, he was committed to jail at Kingston, for contempt.

In May, 1773, the Tea Act for the relief of the East India Company went into effect and plans went into operation for shipping large quantities of teas to America. The threepence a pound import tax was operative and by it, it was made certain that the English purpose to tax the Colonies, upon principle was firmly established. In October, it was learned that shipments of tea had been forwarded to four of the principal American ports. Philadelphia, the home of Franklin, was the first to enter its protest, adopting eight resolutions, wherein the consignees were asked to resign and the recipients and users were declared to be enemies of the country. No tea was sent to Rhode Island. The first ship load of the "pernicious weed" arrived in Boston, November 28, 1773. The town had already adopted the Philadelphia resolutions and meetings had been held to arouse the people to prevent the entrance and use of tea. So strong were the protests of the people of Boston and neighboring towns against the unloading of the vessels, that the ship owners agreed that the tea should not be landed, while a strong guard was placed around the wharf to see that no tea was brought on shore. On December 16th, "the Boston Tea Party" took place, when three hundred and forty-two chests of tea were broken up and the tea was steeped in the salt brine of Boston Harbor. Another vessel of tea was wrecked on Cape Cod and the tea lovers and drinkers of the Bay enjoyed other non-taxable drinks. Rhode Island loved tea but abhorred the tax and held public meetings to dis-

courage its introduction and prevent its use. Newport resolved against tea Jan. 12th, 1744; Providence followed Jan. 19th, Warren followed, Westerly joined the ranks, February 2, Little Compton 3, Middletown 9, then South Kingstown, Jamestown, Hopkinton, Bristol, Richmond, New Sheridan on March 2, Cumberland 18th, Barrington 21st. The brevity of the Middletown resolves express the gravamen of all: "(1) Resolved, that we will have nothing to do with the East India Company's irksome tea, nor any other subject to the like duty; (2) Resolved, that we will heartily unite with our American brethren in supporting the inhabitants of this continent in all their just rights and privileges; and we do disown any right in the Parliament of Great Britain to tax America voted and passed." The Westerly town meeting adopted resolutions drawn by Governor Samuel Ward, the ancestor of a more distinguished granddaughter, Julia Ward Howe, whose "Battle Hymn of the Republic" will survive all other human monuments.

The news of "the Boston Tea Party" aroused intense feeling in England against the American Colonies. Franklin, the Crown Post Master of the Colonies, was treated with great discourtesy and his office taken from him, after he had organized the postal system on a paying basis. Philadelphia's loss was gain to Providence, for the Colonies had already in hand the organization of an independent postal service and William Goddard of Providence was chosen to set up a Colonial postal administration, while the existing English system was declared "unconstitutional and a usurpation no longer to be borne." Important events follow in rapid movement. The Port of Boston was closed to commerce March 29, 1774. General Thomas Gage was made commander-in-chief of the English Army in America and at the same time Governor of Massachusetts, in place of Hutchinson. April 2, Sam Adams, John Hancock and Dr. Joseph Warren were ordered to trial in England, in the same month. On April 19th, Edmund Burke made his masterly speech in defense of the American Colonies. Colonial troops armed and drilled. In May, at Boston, Metcalf Bowler of Rhode Island, in a conference of Massachusetts towns action relative to the Port Bill announced that all the Colonies had made favorable replies to the Rhode Island proposal, and that a Colonial Union was certain. On May 17, Gen. Gage made his public entry into Boston and on that day Providence, in town meeting assembled, formally proposed and, by vote, recommended a COLONIAL CONTINENTAL CONGRESS. Such a Congress had been proposed by public speakers and correspondence committees, but had not been formally endorsed by any collective and responsible body. It is true that the Sons of Liberty of New York proposed such a Congress on May 16th and John Hancock had suggested it in a public meeting at Boston, on the 5th of March pre-

vious, but no corporate body of men, acting in its civil capacity, and recognizable as a permanent and important factor in Colonial affairs, had "Resolved that this town will heartily join with the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and the other Colonies, in such measures as shall be generally agreed on, for the protecting and securing their invaluable natural rights and privileges," and instructing their Deputies in the General Assembly to promote a "Congress, as soon as may be, of the Representatives of the General Assemblies of the several Colonies and Provinces of North America." According to the instructions given the Deputies, the General Assembly of Rhode Island Colony, at its Newport session, June 13-15, 1774, resolved in favor of a "firm and inviolable union of all the Colonies, in Councils and measures absolutely necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties." To that end, the Assembly appointed Hon. Stephen Hopkins and Hon. Samuel Ward as delegates to an annual convention of representatives of all the Colonies to be held "as soon as may be" * * * "to establish the rights and liberties of the Colonies, upon a just and solid foundation." While all the Colonies were rapidly moving towards Colonial Union, it was the fortunate lot of Providence as a town, and of Rhode Island as a Colony to be in the forefront of opinion and action in bringing the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS into being. The early practice of independence and the inculcation of the principles of civil and religious liberty from its founding had fitted our Colony for the initiative in matters where the freedom of the individual was in jeopardy. The virility of this principle as a workable force is seen in the unanimity of the Assembly in choosing as delegates to the proposed Congress the two ex-governors, whose struggles in hostile camps had for so long kept the Colony in bitter political turmoil. Leadership in the dramatic events of the revolutionary period are easily traceable to the men and events of an earlier century. To Massachusetts was granted the honor of fixing the time and place of the meeting of the first congress of the thirteen Colonies.

Military activity was seen on all sides. The stores at Fort George, Newport, were recruited. The "Providence Artillery Company" incorporated in Gloucester in 1744, changed its name to the "Cadet Company," was officered on a regimental basis and by its new charter was assigned to the right of the line. The Light Infantry of Providence was chartered, to consist of one hundred men and the station assigned it was "in front of the left wing of the regiment." June 30th was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer in view of threatening trouble and the distresses of Boston. In August, Providence, by a town vote, instructed its Deputies to vote a money allowance for Boston, as did Newport, Jamestown, Westerly, Bristol, Warren, Barrington, North and South Kingstown, Gloucester, North Providence, Coventry, Smithfield, Johnston, Tiverton, East Greenwich, Cranston and Little Compton. Scituate sent 120 sheep;

Gloucester, 95; Smithfield, 150; Johnson, 57; East Greenwich, 25, and 4 oxen; Tiverton, 72; South Kingstown, 135; Providence, 136 and £51; Newport, £300; North Kingstown, 70; North Providence, £18; Bristol, £48; Warwick, 5 oxen; Little Compton, £30, sent liberal sums of money and provisions to Boston. Jonathan Simpson came to Providence to establish business as a dealer in hardware. His Tory views were not popular and one Saturday night, the doors and windows of his house were covered with tar and feathers. He returned to Boston. A Tory tinman came from Boston to set up business. He went back the next day. Providence closed its doors to all Tories. Stephen Arnold of Warwick, a Judge of Common Pleas, unjustly charged with Toryism was hung in effigy at East Greenwich, for which a mob of Warwick threatened to destroy the village in revenge. Deputy Governor Sessions ordered the Cadets and Light Infantry to protect the town and support the sheriff. Mr. Arnold made a public statement of his views and the mob dispersed.

At the October session of the General Assembly, held at Providence several military companies were chartered,—the Newport Light Infantry, the Pawtuxet Rangers, the Gloucester Light Infantry, the Providence Grenadiers, applied for by Jonathan Arnold and others, and the Kentish Guards, applied for by James A. Varnum, Christopher and Nathaniel Greene and Archibald Crary, all of whose names became illustrious in the forum or on the fields of conflict. Ward and Hopkins told the Assembly at a special session in December, 1774, of the first session of the Continental Congress, which had adjourned and they were elected as delegates to the May session, 1775. The Assembly ordered the guns and ammunition at Fort George, Newport, to be removed to Providence, including more than forty cannon and a large quantity of powder and shot. Captain Wallace, commander of the British frigate *Rose*, at Newport, demanded an explanation of this act, and was told by Governor Wanton that it was to prevent Wallace from seizing them. The Colony fire-arms at Newport were ordered distributed to the five Counties according to their tax rates. Four new companies were chartered,—the Scituate Hunters, Providence Artillery, Fusileers, North Providence Rangers, and four brass four-pounders were bought and loaned to the Providence Artillery. The office of major-general was created, to be elected annually, and Simeon Potter of Bristol was chosen. The militia law was revised, providing "in what manner the forces within this Colony shall march to the assistance of our sister Colonies, when invaded or attacked." Committees of inspection were chosen in Newport, Providence and other towns, holding monthly meetings and advising or directing in matters of local defence. Fire-arms began to be made in the Colony and the local companies of militia were supplied with home-made muskets, while sixty heavy cannon were forged, besides field pieces at iron works in Coventry,

Warwick and other iron works, superseding the usual forging of cables and anchors. The military companies were rapidly filled and supplied with guns and ammunition, already collected at Newport and Providence. March the first, 1775, was the day set by the Continental Congress to stop using tea by the Colonies. The Act was self-operative. Tea was banished from house and market. On March 2nd, three hundred pounds of tea were burned in the presence of a multitude in Market Square, and the word "TEA" on shop signs disappeared by brush and lamp black. On April 3rd, a general muster of the militia was held.

Two thousand men, besides a troop of cavalry, enrolled in Providence County and about fifteen hundred in Kent County, exclusive of the chartered companies. On April 4th, the independent companies were reviewed. On the 19th Gage sent a body of men, by night, to capture some military stores of the Colonists at Concord. A fight with minute-men took place on Lexington Common and at Concord the British soldiers were met at Concord Bridge by the militia of Middlesex farmers, who had been aroused by a Lexington courier. The fire of the minute-men led to a rapid retreat of the British through Lexington to Charlestown. The British loss was 273 men; the American, 173. The Concord fight was the first engagement between British regulars and Colonial minute-men and was a fine illustration of the spirit and courage of the yeoman soldiers of New England. The shot fired at Concord Bridge awoke the Colonies and aroused them to prepare to strike for freedom. News of the battle of Lexington reached Providence before morning and swift messengers rode through Rhode Island and Connecticut towns, calling the people to arms and on the 20th of April a thousand Rhode Island soldiers were marching for Lexington. The General Assembly met in special session at Providence on April 22nd to act "upon measures for the common defence of the four New England Colonies." Ammunition was ordered distributed to the several towns. The Providence companies of the train of artillery and the Fusileers were united under the name of the United Company of the Train of Artillery. May 11th was set apart as a day of fasting and prayer. Nathaniel Greene and William Bradford were sent to Connecticut to advise on united action. "All this very dangerous crisis of American affairs, at a time when we are surrounded with fleets and armies, which threaten our destruction." The Assembly voted to raise an army of observation of fifteen hundred men, "properly armed and disciplined" to act in or without the Colony, "for the safety and preservation of any of the Colonies." To this act Governor Joseph Wanton, Deputy Governor Darius Sessions and Assistants Thomas Wickes and Thomas Potter entered a written protest, on the grounds "of the most fatal consequences to our charter privileges, involve the country in all the horrors of a civil war, * * * and in open violation of the oath

of allegiance we have taken." Narragansett Bay was still the scene of raids on our commerce. Two vessels loaded with flour belonging to John Brown were seized and sent to Boston. Mr. Brown was on board of one of the prizes and was sent as a prisoner to Boston. Through the personal intercession of his brother, Moses, with Gen. Gage, John was liberated. The Browns were all ardent patriots. In 1775, John Brown, finding the army destitute of ammunition, particularly of powder, directed the captains of his vessels to load their craft with powder, on their return voyages, and when the army at Boston had not four rounds to a man, he sent a ton and a half to the soldiers at Boston.

At the annual election in April, Wanton was re-elected Governor and Sessions Deputy Governor. The latter declined to serve and Nicholas Cooke of Providence was chosen in Grand Committee to fill that office, at the May session at Providence. Gov. Wanton could not attend on account of "indisposition," and sent a message, in which he stated his attitude towards the Home Government as a pacifist and rehearsed the probable dangers of revolutionary action, urging the repeal of the legislation for raising an army. An issue is now on between the Governor-elect and the General Assembly. Commissions were to be issued to the officers of the Army of Observation. Metcalf Bowler, speaker of the House of Deputies, was requested to ask the Governor, "whether your Honor will sign, as Commander-in-Chief of this Colony, such commissions?" Gov. Wanton made a prompt reply, "I cannot." Bold, courageous action is called for and follows. The Governor had protested against an army for the protection of Colonial interests, had neglected to issue a proclamation for a day of fasting and prayer and now had positively refused to sign the commissions of officers, "by all which, he hath manifested his intentions to defeat the good people of these Colonies, in their present glorious struggle to transmit inviolate to posterity, those sacred rights they have received from their ancestors." By legislative act, Joseph Wanton was suspended from the office of Governor and Henry Ward, Secretary of State, was authorized to sign officers' commissions, and Deputy Governor Cooke was authorized to call the Assembly, in special session. Deputy Governor Cooke was acting Governor of the Colony until November 7th, when Governor Joseph Wanton was by vote of the Assembly formally deposed, "as inimical to the rights and liberties of America." Nicholas Cooke was elected Governor and William Bradford of Bristol was chosen Deputy Governor. The sun of the Wanton family which had shone with great brilliancy during years of Colonial prosperity sank in Toryism and the lurid clouds of civil war, never to rise again. Deputy Governor Sessions followed in the trail of "the lost cause," as did Assistant Wickes. Potter recanted and was restored

to social and political favor. Toryism was a dangerous path in Colonial times. In all times it often parallels the way of treason and rebellion.

A Committee of Safety was chosen to furnish and pay the troops and with the two highest military officers to direct the Army of Observation, when out of Rhode Island. This committee consisted of William Richmond for Newport County, John Smith and Daniel Tillinghast for Providence, John Northrup for Washington, Jacob Greene for Kent and William Bradford for Bristol. The army was made up of three regiments,—one raised in Newport and Bristol Counties under Colonel Thomas Church, one in Providence under Colonel Daniel Hitchcock and one in Kent and Washington under Colonel James M. Varnum. Each regiment was composed of eight companies with a train of artillery; the brigade was under the command of Brigadier-General Nathanael Greene, then thirty-three years old. About one thousand men of the Rhode Island army, with the United Train of Artillery having four field pieces and a siege battery of twelve, eighteen and twenty-four pounders had before the first of June joined the American army of sixteen thousand men, in camp at Jamaica Plains.

The intrepid Captain Abraham Whipple, the leader of the "Gaspee" party, again comes to the front in the capture of the English frigate "Rose," Captain Wallace, who was disturbing our Bay commerce. It seems that Wallace had seized a Bay packet which he was using as a tender to the "Rose." Governor Cooke demanded the restoration of the packet, which Wallace contemptuously refused to return to her owners. While the correspondence was going on, an armed sloop engaged the packet and, after sharp firing on both sides, the packet was chased on to Conanicut shore and captured on June 15th. The captor was Captain Abraham Whipple of Providence, who commanded the war sloop and to him is due the honor of firing the first shot upon the ocean, at any part of the British Navy, in the American Revolution, as this was the first naval engagement between two armed vessels. Wallace had learned who it was that led the company that seized the Gaspee and he wrote to Whipple as follows: "You, Abraham Whipple, on the 10th of June, 1772, burned his Majesty's vessel, the "Gaspee," and I will hang you at the yard-arm. James Wallace." Whipple replied with greater brevity and more wit and irony; "To Sir James Wallace, Sir: Always catch a man before you hang him. Abraham Whipple." Two armed sloops were equipped for the defence of Narragansett Bay, the largest to carry ten four-pounders, and fourteen swivel guns, with eighty men, the smaller thirty men. Their names were "Washington" and "Katy." They were commanded by Commodore Abraham Whipple, who hereby instituted the American Navy, in June, 1775. On the 13th of October, 1775, the Continental Congress chose a committee consisting of Silas Deane of Connecticut, John Langdon of New Hamp-

shire and Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina to direct the naval affairs of the Colonies and, in 1776, Esek Hopkins, of Rhode Island, brother of Stephen, was commissioned commodore and made commander-in-chief of the Continental Navy. Two days after the event at Conanicut, while the "Rose" was following vessels for prizes, up the Bay, five vessels which they had taken and left under guard in Newport harbor were boarded and carried off by seamen of Newport. On the same day, June 17th, the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the effect of which was to make clear to the Colonies the gigantic task to which they were pledged in solemn compact. The war had begun in dead earnest. Blood had been shed. More would flow as the price of freedom. Every man in Rhode Island capable of bearing arms was called to the service. One-fourth of the militia were enlisted as minute-men. The Rhode Island forces were incorporated with the American army at Cambridge, of which George Washington took command July 2nd. July 20th was a Continental fast day observed with due solemnity throughout the Colonies. Wallace threatened to bombard Newport, Providence fortified Field and Sassafras Points, erected a battery of six eighteen-pounders at Fox Point and lighted the beacon on Prospect Hill, the flame of which was visible from Boston to New London. All live stock was brought off of Block Island and the islands in the Bay. Three shillings a pound was paid for saltpetre. Eight field pieces were ordered cast. Two "row galleys" of thirty oars and sixty men each, with one eighteen-pounder, besides swivel guns, were ordered, named Washington and Spit-fire. The Rhode Island delegates to Congress were instructed "to use their whole influence for building, at the Continental expense, a fleet of sufficient force for the protection of these Colonies, and for employing them in such manner and places as will most effectually annoy our enemies and contribute to the common defence of these Colonies." This was the voice of our General Assembly, August 21-26, 1775, before Washington had fitted out vessels, or called the attention of Congress to the need of a navy to protect our coast. Congress chose a committee in October, 1775, of which Stephen Hopkins, of Rhode Island, and John Adams, of Massachusetts, were members. Rhode Island was the first to suggest, the first to act and the first to carry out the idea of an American Navy. A permanent garrison of seven men to each gun was stationed at Fox Point, with Esek Hopkins as commander. The first Rhode Island officer, who fell in the war, Adjutant Augustus Mumford, was killed in the siege of Boston, by a cannon shot from a British gun, August 29, 1775. In October, Congress asked Governor Cooke to send our war vessels to intercept two ships from England on their way to Canada with military stores. Home needs were greater, for Wallace threatened Newport with destruction, unless live stock and other army supplies were furnished.

Six hundred men, under Esek Hopkins went to rescue Newport, saving property, people and town. On Saturday evening, October 7th, Wallace with fifteen sail, anchored in line in Bristol harbor, and, after a brief parley, opened a heavy cannonade on the town. The night was rainy and an epidemic was prevailing, while a hundred and twenty cannon shots were fired on a quiet and defenceless people. The next day, he sailed away to Newport with forty innocent sheep as his booty for shooting up a peaceful New England town of three thousand men and women. Chivalrous Wallace! During the months of December, 1775, and January, 1776, Wallace was constant in his forays on the towns bordering on the Bay,—plundering the islands and threatening the lives of the people. Troops of minute-men were stationed on guard of Bay towns and Washington sent Gen. Lee, who took command at Newport, and summoning the Tories, administered a tremendous oath, which was taken by all but Col. Wanton and two officers of customs. The Lee iron-clad oath is an historic relic which will stand the test of time and ensure loyalty outside of jail limits.

The Continental Navy, with two ships, the *Alfred* of 30 guns and the *Columbus* of 36; two brigs, the *Andrea Doria* and *Cabot*, each 14 guns and four sloops, the *Providence*, *Fly*, *Hornet* and *Wasp*, were placed in the command of Commodore Esek Hopkins, in February, 1776. Abraham Whipple was chosen Captain of the *Columbus* and John B. Hopkins of the *Cabot*, and John Paul Jones as first lieutenant of the *Alfred*,—all except Jones, relatives of Stephen Hopkins, of the Naval Committee. In March, the fleet under Commodore Esek Hopkins descended on New Providence, in the Bahamas, captured two forts, seized a large amount of military stores and more than 100 cannon, bringing home with the booty the Governor of the Island. On the return, Hopkins' fleet encountered the British ship *Glasgow*, 20 guns, and 150 men, off Block Island. After severe fighting, the *Glasgow* made a flight to safety in Newport harbor, while Hopkins with 100 guns and 700 men failed of victory for want of good management, though his command showed good spirit. In August Commodore Hopkins was unable to sail north or south for want of men, and in December Hopkins was "bottled up" by a large British fleet in Narragansett Bay. He wrote: "We are now blocked up by the enemy's fleet; the officers and men are uneasy, however, I shall not desert the cause, but I wish with all my heart the Hon. Marine Board could and would get a man in my room that would do the country more good than it is in my power to do."

In August, 1776, Congress censured Hopkins; in 1777, he was suspended and in 1778 was dismissed from service. Gen. Henry Knox called Hopkins "an antiquated figure." Richman writes of the only "Commander-in-Chief" of the American Navy: "He was a well-meaning man,



Esek Hopkins

Commander-in-Chief of American Navy, 1776

unresourceful and slack; one of those upon whom misfortune seems to descend by sheer force of natural attraction."

Governor Samuel Ward, a delegate from Rhode Island at Philadelphia, died on March 25th of small pox. He was a wise counsellor, an un-failing patriot, and his death was a great loss to one and all of the Colonies. In April, Generals Nathanael Greene, John Sullivan, and Joseph Spencer with 16 regiments of troops reached Providence, called by Governor Cooke to meet a threatened invasion by the British army and navy reached Providence, in the first week of April, followed by Washington himself, who was given a reception and a grand entertainment at Providence, April 6th, and departed for New York the next day. As Washington was on his way to New York, Commodore Esek Hopkins arrived at New London, after a series of brilliant naval engagements, capturing two war vessels on successive days, driving the frigate Glasgow into Newport harbor. The Searboro of 20 guns and another vessel of 16 guns with two prizes were captured by the two row galleys from Providence, and with new batteries at Newport and Canonicut the Bay was freed of British cruisers.

While all the American Colonies suffered general grievances from Great Britain, which created a bond of Colonial union, Massachusetts and Rhode Island were singled out as special objects of magisterial reproof and castigation. For four years and more the commerce of this Colony had suffered from unjust espionage and provoking interference, evidence of which appears in the event of the Gaspee in 1772, and this was only one of a series of troublesome violations of Colonial rights that preceded and followed. While the taxes on tea and other commodities affected the pockets of the people, their patience and patriotism were more severely taxed by injustice and military oppression. Narragansett Bay towns, with Newport and Providence as chief, had suffered until longer endurance ceased to be a virtue and an aroused people, under able and public spirited leaders of the ancient stock, had reached the crisis, when decision and action must set the seal on further hostile exploitation of the Colony of Rhode Island. On May the first, 1776, the General Assembly met at Providence on weighty business. At previous sessions, it had legislated on the raising of troops for defence, and on measures for Continental union. At this session, the yeomen of the towns had sent their best men to consider and act on the vital questions of English and Colonial relations. Nicholas Cooke was Governor; William Bradford, of Bristol, Deputy Governor; Major General Simon Potter, John Collins, later Governor, Peter Phillips, assistants; Col. Jonathan Arnold, John Brown, Metcalf Bowler, William Greene, later Governor, Major General Joshua Babcock, Shearjashub Bourne, Col. John Cooke, Judge Daniel Mowry, Major Thomas Olney, Capt. Thomas Allin, were deputies.

These were the leaders in patriotic legislation, in that historic Assembly. Henry Ward was Colonial Secretary, and Metcalf Bowler, speaker of the House. Three days were devoted to organization, the choice of military officers, and other matters relative to placing the Colony on a war footing. All legislation was leading up to the great decision which was to be enacted. There was consultation and deliberation which preceded action. Hopkins and Ellery, delegates to Congress, are advisory to the Declaration of the Colony. It has been decided in Executive Council to present to the two Houses, "An Act repealing an Act entitled 'An Act for the more effectually securing to His Majesty, the allegiance of his subjects, in this his Colony and Dominion of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.'" In a compact message of about three hundred words, we find stated the principle of reciprocity in "protection and allegiance," and the charge that George the Third, "instead of protecting," has sent "fleets and armies to America to confiscate our property and spread fire, sword and desolation throughout our country, in order to compel us to the most detestable tyranny; whereby we are obliged, by necessity, and it becomes our highest duty, to use every means with which God and nature have furnished us, in support of our invaluable rights and privileges, to oppose that power which is exerted only for our destruction." The repeal clause follows and then instead of His Majesty's Colony as a Colonial title are to be substituted the words, "THE GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE ENGLISH COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS."

Thereafter all acts of legislative or of legal character are to issue under this supreme title. The courts of law were no longer King's Courts, and all writs, processes and commissions were hereafter to bear only the title of the Colony with no reference to royalty. Col. Jonathan Arnold, experienced in statesmanship and diplomacy and a deputy of Providence, was chosen to introduce the bill in the House of Deputies, which was done on Saturday, May the fourth. The official records are silent as to the debate which followed and no record of the roll call of either House exists. All that we need to know is that the bill declaring our Colony free and independent of Great Britain, passed both Houses of the General Assembly on the fourth of May, 1776. On May the 6th, Governor Cooke, in a letter to General Washington, wrote, "I also enclose an Act discharging the inhabitants of this Colony from allegiance to the King of Great Britain, which was carried in the House of Deputies, after a debate, with but six dissentient voices, there being upwards of sixty members present." The Governor also advised Washington that the Rhode Island delegates in Congress were instructed to join with the major delegates "in entering into treaty with any prince, state or potentate for the security of the Colonies, and to adopt any other measures that may be thought prudent and effectual." In the House of Deputies, it was proposed to

refer the question of independence to the people, but the proposal was withdrawn.

In a letter to Hon. Thomas Cushing of Massachusetts, Governor Cooke wrote, "The enclosed Act passed the Upper House *unanimously*, and the Lower House by a vast majority; there being upwards of sixty members present, and only six votes against it." Following this Act, the Assembly instructed Hopkins and Ellery, Delegates in Congress, to promote "the strictest union and confederation between the said United Colonies, for exerting their whole strength and force to annoy the common enemy, and to secure to the said Colonies their rights and liberties, both civil and religious, * * * taking the greatest care to secure to this Colony, in the strongest and most perfect manner, its present established form, and all the powers of government, so far as relate to its internal policy and conduct of our own affairs, civil and religious."

Rhode Island hereby issued its Declaration of Independence, by an almost unanimous vote of its legislators, who had just been elected, in the midst of the turmoil of a civil war. Its significance few in our day can realize. The smallest of the thirteen Colonies, the most exposed by land and sea to the occupation of the British forces, the one most liable to easy subjugation by a hostile army and navy, the strong Tory element in the two large towns, the uncertainty of the action of other Colonies and of the Continental Congress, the distressing need of men, munitions and money for defence were the natural, the real deterrents of such an independent attitude. But it was taken and Rhode Island has the supreme honor of declaring political independence in advance of all the other Colonies, and of assuming national independency with popular supremacy to direct, prior to any other people or nation on the globe. The records of the Assembly closed with the motto, "GOD SAVE THE UNITED COLONIES." Two months later, on July 4th, 1776, twelve of the Colonies joined Rhode Island in a Confederate Union, when the motto of loyalty was changed to "GOD SAVE THE UNITED STATES."

In a singular way Rhode Island had taken the lead in events leading up to Colonial independence. The Gaspee affair came of our maritime location. Our naval leadership sprang from the same source. The suggestion of a Continental Congress grew out of the spontaneous individuality of our citizenship, wrought into united action, in the presence of a common danger and a common need. Rhode Island independency, pure and simple, appeared in Governor Ward's refusal to approve the Stamp Act at an earlier date and the free spirit of an independent electorate was most manifest in the Act of May fourth, 1776, and this is directly traceable to the free spirit of the founders of 1638, and the free guarantees of the Royal Charter of 1663. There seemed great unanimity in the minds of the legislators, in the passage of the bill for Colonial separa-

tion from Great Britain, but back of their votes were personal and political doubts and misunderstandings as to the real attitude of the electorate, and the proposal of a popular referendum clearly shows it. Rhode Island had assumed leadership in Colonial and at the time there was no great certainty of a general following. Sympathically, the Colonies were united in a common defense, but our Colony had "crossed the Rubicon," and the other twelve might or might not follow. And as to leadership, she was not in a position to head the procession of free states. She was poor, was poorly defended, had few statesmen of first rank, and her troops were few even for her own defence; still more, the Tory element was strong in Rhode Island,—stronger in proportion to population than in any other Colony. The Quakers, strong in numbers, influential in politics and usually of the property class, were opposed to the war, by religious principles. The Governor and Deputy Governor had already publicly declared their protest against military organization and activity. Newport, the abode of wealth and culture, saw the sacrifice of all earthly values in the event of a struggle and to add to the violence of forces which stood athwart the patriot movement were the clergy and body of laity of the Episcopal Church, which was always and everywhere loyal to its mother,—the English State Church. In some of the Colonies, prior to the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, in 1775, a majority of the people were loyal to the home government and hoped for a reconciliation of differences. Ardent patriots were in doubt what course to pursue. During that revolutionary year it became evident that Great Britain had decided to use coercive measures towards the Colonies, and men of lukewarm spirit and purposes were aroused to resist force and arms and the major sentiment was now fairly or intensely patriotic. The line between Colonial Whigs and Tories was now more clearly defined and alignment between loyal and disloyal Colonists rapidly followed. In Rhode Island, the conservative or Tory element made no organized effort to resist the liberal sentiment. It was content in the feeling that the British authority could be easily maintained in America by arms if not by peaceful arbitration, and that any show of opposition would intensify Colonial patriotism and make patriots out of doubters. In fact they did nothing, said little and waited. And King George lent them no aid. Toryism in Rhode Island was a passive factor. The town of Newport was a Tory town, while Providence was a Whig town,—a town of patriots, controlled by a masterly patriotic body of men and women, organized, alert, courageous, daring. While Providence controlled the northern section of the Colony in patriotic measures, it also had come into a new and commanding position in all parts of the Colony,—Newport excepted. It was at this junction that the ancient scepter of power was transferred from Aquidneck to Moshassuck, and the law makers from the old Newport

State House to the newer center of legislative power at Providence. William Ellery and Metcalf Bowler were the last of the Newport school of statesmen.

We have already noted the drastic action of Providence patriots towards traders of the Tory stamp from Boston. Tar and feathers, public whippings, prisons or the hangman's rope were ready instruments to convert Tories to Whigs, or to punish the resistants. Cornwallis called the loyalists "timid" and the patriots as "inveterate." General Robertson, in his testimony on the conduct of the war said that the patriots were only one-third of the people, while they made a great majority by their national spirit and energy. They were like a little Kentuckian, weighing one hundred pounds, who said, "When I am mad, I weigh a full ton." The Rhode Island patriot was weighty in word, deed and act. In October, 1775, and prior to the Declaration of Independence, the Colony sequestered the estates in Rhode Island of Governor Hutchinson, Samuel Sewall, Gilbert Deblois, John and Jonathan Simpson, of Boston, and of Dr. Thomas Moffat, Ralph Inman, George Rome (the heirs of Andrew Oliver), and Jahleel and Benjamin Brenton, late residents of Newport. The estate of Benjamin Brenton was returned to him, on proof that he was loyal to the Colony. Shops, goods, book accounts, rents were also confiscated and conveyances were declared void. John and Arthur Dennis of Providence, suspected as royalists, on their declaration of loyalty and prayer for clemency and discharge from arrest. Refusal of several prominent gentlemen of Newport to subscribe to the test of loyalty were removed to other towns where they were required to support themselves, pay all expenses, and to be put in jail if they left the town. Col. Joseph Wanton, Jr., son of the Governor was removed to Jamestown, Augustus Johnston to South Kingstown, Matthew Cozzens to Cumberland, John Haliburton to Hopkinson, William Hunter to Smithfield, Samuel Gibbs to Scituate, Silas Cooke to South Kingstown, Anthony Lechmere to Gloucester, Christopher Hargill to Cumberland, Andrew Christie to North Kingstown, and Joseph Farrick to Cumberland. Richard Beale, John Nicholl, Nicholas Lechmere, Thomas Vernon and Walter Chaloner were sent to Gloucester, Matthew Cozzens, for disobedience was committed to Providence jail. Of eighty citizens of Newport summoned to appear before Judge Bowler to take the test oath, all but three refused to sign and were disarmed. In 1777, Congress advised the confiscation and sale of all Tory estates. The British officers, in 1778, organized a corps of Tories, on Rhode Island, known as the Loyal Newport Associators. Their number, officers, etc., are not known, except as to one company, whose officers were appointed by Gen. Pigot, January 1, 1778: Joseph Durfee, Captain, vice Simon Pease, deceased; Giles Stanton, First Lieutenant; John Thurston, Jr., Second Lieutenant. Many of the

royalists, with moveable possessions either took up their residences in other Colony or removed to Nova Scotia or other English domains. The policy of our Colony was never more severe than the confiscation of royalists' property, or short prison confinement in the cases of the most pronounced, while in some of the Colonies hanging of Tories was not only threatened but executed. Joseph Hawley wrote to Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, "Can we subsist—did any state ever subsist—without exterminating traitors? It is amazingly wonderful that, having no capital punishment for our intestine enemies, we have not been utterly ruined before now." The Continental Congress authorized the several Colonial Committees of Safety to disarm "the unworthy Americans who take the part of the oppressors."

Privateering was an efficient method of warfare as well as source of large profits to those engaging in it. It called for skill in seamanship and daring and courage in the business, and Rhode Island furnished vessels, outfits and men for what many called sportive naval warfare. Newport capital and seamen had for years, profited by the successful seizure of enemy ships of other than English flags, but now that flag was the coveted object of search and attack by our coastal cruisers. The Wantons, in the early day, won fame and fortune from the prizes taken on the American coast and their successes in the Revolutionary period were no less hazardous or successful. Reference has already been made to the achievements of Hopkins, Whipple and Paul Jones, and their names will again appear in naval story. Rhode Island had many vessels and seamen who rendered excellent service to the Colonies by the capture of vessels with guns, ammunition, food stuffs, clothing and other much needed supplies for the soldiers. Cooper writes that "without the succors that were obtained in this manner, the Revolution must have been checked at the outset." Robert Morris made large profits and Washington invested money in privateering. In the first year of the war nearly 350 British vessels had been captured, worth, ships and cargoes \$5,000,000. During less than five months, in 1776, 65 privateers were fitted and sent to sea from this Colony. Dr. Stiles' record states, "It has been computed that this war by prizes, by building ships of war and the Navy has already within a year and a half brought into Providence near three hundred thousand sterling; which is double the property of the whole town, two years ago."

The Continental Congress had permitted the fitting out of "armed vessels to cruise on the enemies of the United States" in March, 1776; directly following the Act of the General Assembly of Rhode Island and in May the Colonial Assembly passed an act relative to the distribution of the value of the prizes, one-third to the officers and two-thirds to the

Colony, and when legally condemned, one-half to the officers and crew and the other half to the Colony.

Capt. Silas Talbot, Massachusetts born, an adopted son of Providence, won a reputation for chivalrous daring at the age of twenty-five, on the Hudson, by rigging a fire ship of an old sloop by which to destroy the frigate "Asia," a sixty-four gun English ship, at anchor below Fort Washington. At midnight he got his craft ready and drifting down the river with the tide, was near the "Asia" before he was discovered and received a broadside from the frigate. Alongside, grappling irons made fast the fire ship to the frigate, a column of fire shot up from the blazing bomb-boat, and Talbot and his aids escaped to their boats, with the loss of only one officer, Ensign John Thomas of Rhode Island. The "Asia" was saved from total destruction only by the combined efforts of sister ships, but so alarmed was the commander that he fled for safety in the lower harbor. Congress promoted Talbot to the rank of major for the "spirited attempt." In December, 1776, two fire-ships were ordered for Capt. Talbot.

In October, 1778, we find Major Silas Talbot at the head of a daring deed, in Rhode Island waters. The east passage to Narragansett Bay was blockaded by the "Pigot" galley, a vessel of 200 tons, armed with eight twelve-pounders and a crew of 45 men. In a small sloop of two three-pounders and a crew of 60 men selected from Providence troops, Talbot set sail down the Bay, on the October 27th, anchored in Mt. Hope Bay and proceeded to Little Compton to reconnoitre. Securing fifteen more men he set sail down the Sakonet River, on the night of the 28th. The night was very dark, the wind favorable and a quick run was made to Fogland Ferry, passing the fort with the tide under bare poles. A boat was sent to find the galley and now sails were hoisted and the little sloop full of courageous men, bore down upon the enemy. Shots were exchanged but before the "Pigot" could get her broadsides in action, the jib-boom of the "Hawk" tore through the boarding-nettings and caught in the foe's shrouds, when Lieut. Helme with his command ran along the bowsprit and boarded the Britain. The crew were driven below, the commander alone fighting gallantly on deck. Not a man was killed in the fight. The "Pigot" as a prize was sailed to Stonington and Congress made Major Talbot a lieutenant-colonel for his gallant act, while the General Assembly voted swords to Lieut.-Col. Talbot and Lieut. Helme for distinguished deeds.

On June, 1779, Gen. Gates commissioned Lieut.-Col. Talbot to guard the coast, with a small sloop of 100 tons, named the "Argo," with ten guns and 60 men. He captured the privateer "Lively," a ten-gun vessel with three prizes which were brought to Providence and soon after returned with two large vessels of 12 and 18 guns, captured off Sandy Hook, after

a desperate fight of four and a half hours. Having recruited the *Argo* with twelve guns, Talbot at the order of Gates, made a coast cruise, capturing the Tory privateer, *King George*, of ten guns, belonging in Newport and commanded by Stanton Harard. In boarding the vessel and in the fight, Talbot did not lose a man. This privateer had been a great annoyance to the Americans and her seizure gave great rejoicing to the Colony. In September, the *Argo* returned to Providence with four other valuable prizes. This cruise being reported to Congress by Hon. John Jay, Lieut.-Col. Talbot was made a captain in the Continental Navy. In December, 1779, the *Argo* was ordered on a three months' cruise with Capt. Talbot in command. Before he could sail, the owners reclaimed her, when Capt. Talbot took command of the privateer *Washington*, was soon after captured by the British, confined on the Jersey prison ship for a while, then sent to England and held in Dartmouth prison till he was exchanged in December, 1781, reaching Providence in the spring of 1782. Later he built the frigate *Constitution*, 44 guns, in 1797, and was her commander for four years. He died in New York, in 1813, after a life of distinguished naval and military services for the defence of the Colonies and the establishment of the Federal Union.

In February, 1778, Rhode Island sailors scored another naval victory at New Providence, when Capt. John Rathbone, in command of the U. S. sloop *Providence*, twelve guns, landed a party of 30 men, captured the fort, six vessels in the harbor, drove off a British sloop-of-war, spiked the guns of the fort, and brought away a large lot of military stores, without the loss of a man. In many other naval operations, Rhode Island sailors, commanded by Rhode Island officers, were victorious on the sea, while the militia was engaged in protecting the Colony or assisting in outside campaigns. Among distinguished captains in the Navy, to those already named should be added Major William Taggart, Capt. John B. Hopkins, Capt. James Rogert, Capt. Joseph Mauran, Capt. Joseph Olney.

The Rhode Island militia were as efficient and brave as their brothers of the Navy. In April, 1775, a general muster of the Colony showed 2,000 men in Providence County, besides a troop of horse. Kent County had 1,500 men under arms. The estimate of the other counties gives them 3,500 men. These were exclusive of the chartered companies. This Colony had not less than seven or eight thousand men on call for local or Continental service. Brigadier General Nathanael Greene was commander-in-chief of the active military force. Seventeen hundred men joined the grand army at Boston, in June. Another regiment of 500 men, under command of Col. William Richmond was enlisted for one year. The Kingston Reds and the Captain General's Cavaliers were chartered in November, 1775. These with the other chartered companies constituted the body of defensible militia out of a population of 59,707 in

1774, and of 55,011 in 1776. The exact amount of man-power for military uses, on May 4th, 1776, when Rhode Island declared her independence of Great Britain cannot be stated with exactness. It must be estimated. The military age was between 16 and 60 years. This includes about 20 per cent. of the whole population. Allowing the total population of the state to be 55,000, the militia would constitute one-fifth of that number, 11,000 men. If we allow one-tenth to be disqualified by reason of physical deficiencies for service, we have a net total of 10,000 effective men, able to bear arms. The town of Barrington, a farming community contained an average Rhode Island stamp of men. Its population in 1776 was 538, twenty per cent. of which was 107.6. The census of 1777 of the town gives the names of all males between 16-60 years. They number 102, of whom 5 or 20 per cent., are unable to bear arms, leaving 97 for militia service, or 18 per cent. of the total population. If we apply the same reasoning to the State for 1776, we find the males able to bear arms to be 10,000, or 18+ per cent. of 55,011. If we allow an annual decrease of 1,000 to the militia for seven years we shall have 17,000 men for militia age in the State between 1775 and 1782.

It is an interesting fact that all the males of military age, 16-60, in the State took their share of service as called upon, in local or Continental service. The home work was in large measure done by women and children under 16, with the aid of the militia-men, when not on duty. When we remember that a British army occupied Rhode Island and a British navy the Bay from 1776-1780, we can readily understand the occasion for constant guard of our coast line of over 100 miles, that demanded guards, day and night, summer and winter for that long period. It is fair to say that not a militia-man escaped service in some form or other,—a service more constant, universal and exacting than in any other State. Even the women sometimes performed guard duty to relieve the men.

The fine harbor at Newport and the protecting environs of Narragansett Bay furnished a tempting rendezvous for a large British fleet and hither sailed Sir Peter Parker, with seven ships of the line, four frigates and seventy transports on the 7th of December, 1776, and on the following day took possession of Newport with 8,000 troops, most of whom were quartered at the farm houses on the Island for the winter. And here the fleet and troops remained until October 25th, 1779, making the Rhode Island a battle ground for nearly three years.

A hostile fleet occupying our coastal entrances and an army of British and Hessian troops, under command of General Clinton, made Rhode Island the theatre of war in New England and made demands upon our energies and resources of men, munitions and money, far in excess of our normal ability. All the militia of the Colony were called to arms and calls

were made for aid on the neighboring Colonies. The women and children of Newport, Providence, Bristol and East Greenwich moved to inland towns, the stock on the Islands was driven away and defenders were stationed at Warwick, Pawtuxet and Tower Hill. The State and the Island were two hostile camps. Providence was given up to the militia, the college suspended studies and University Hall was used as barracks for troops. Gen. Varnum was in command of a brigade of three regiments of fifteen months' men, and Gen. Malmady, a French officer, was appointed Director of Defence. A convention of the New England Colonies was held at Providence, December 25th. Stephen Hopkins presiding. It was advised that an army of 6,000 men should be collected in Rhode Island, that no more paper money be issued, but that taxation and borrowing money at five per cent. be resorted to for funds for defence. The General Assembly fixed the prices of labor, of food, and of clothing, with penalties for violation. Gen. Arnold was sent by Washington to aid in the defence of Rhode Island. In March, 1777, the British erected batteries on Butts Hill at the north end of the Island. In May, Gen. Prescott was put in command at Newport. Two months later a deed of daring was planned and successfully executed by Lieut.-Col. William Barton in the capture of Gen. Prescott. Barton was stationed at a fort at Tiverton, near Stone Bridge. He learned that the British commander was quartered with an aide, at a house in Portsmouth, on the west road, five miles from Newport and about a mile from the Bay. Choosing six officers and thirty-four men, the whole party, Barton in command, rowed from Tiverton to Bristol in five whale-boats, on July 4th, 1777, and on the night of the 6th to Warwick Neck, where a storm detained them two days. On the night of the ninth, he took to his boats, which were rowed by an experienced crew, in perfect silence along the west shores of Prudence, so near to the enemy's ships in the Bay as to hear the shout "All's Well," of the sentinel on duty, and landing on the Portsmouth shore, dividing his men in five divisions, he followed up the ravine from Carr's Point to the mansion house. The sentinel on guard was seized and while one division watched the road the others entered the house by different doors, taking all by surprise. Prescott was captured in bed. His aide, jumping from a window was seized and the whole party returned in silence to their boats, rowed back to Warwick Cove, an inlet of Greenwich Bay, on Warwick Neck. The excursion occupied six and a half hours. Prescott was given a breakfast at a house on the banks of the Cove and was taken in a coach to Providence, from whence, four days afterwards he was sent on parole to Connecticut. Gen. Pigot, from New York, took Prescott's command at Newport. Congress voted a sword to Col. Barton for his gallantry and a few months later was appointed aide-de-camp to Gen. Na-

thanael Greene, with the title of colonel conferred by Congress. He was also commended to General Washington.

One of the most interesting and important military acts of Rhode Island, in 1778, was the enlisting of negro slaves in the Continental Army. The measure was proposed to Gen. Washington by Brig. Gen. Varnum, who stated, "It is imagined that a battalion of negroes can be easily raised there." The plan was approved by Washington as a politic and useful method of adding to the military strength of the State and on February 9, the Assembly voted to raise a regiment of negro slaves, who were to be given their freedom on their enlistment and their owners were to be paid according to the valuation of a committee, the limit of value of a single slave being fixed at one hundred and twenty pounds. Six deputies protested against the act on the grounds that a full regiment could not enlist, that the measure would be interpreted by the British as a "Forlorn hope," that the expense would be great and that the owners would not be satisfied with the compensation proposed. The resolutions preceding the act recite, that "for the preservation of the rights and liberties of the United States, it is necessary that the whole powers of government should be exercised in recruiting the Continental battalions; * * * and whereas history affords us frequent precedents of the wisest, the freest and bravest nations having liberated their slaves, and enlisted them as soldiers to fight in defence of their country; and also whereas, the enemy, with a great force, have taken possession of the Capital, and of a great part of the state," therefore it was voted "that every able-bodied negro, mulatto, or Indian man slave, in this State may enlist * * * to serve during the continuance of the present war with Great Britain."

Each slave enlisting was immediately discharged from service to master or mistress and was ABSOLUTELY FREE as though he had never been a slave.

Each slave enlisting became a soldier of the Continental army, entitled to all the wages, bounties and encouragements granted to any soldier in the National service. In case of sickness or disability from wounds, incurred in the service, the former slave was to be supported at the expense of the State. These were wise and worthy acts of a new, democratic State, and the results in the loyal service of a grateful negro race fully justified the act as a patriotic and far-reaching measure of National defence. At this juncture in Rhode Island, Generals Greene and Varnum urged General Washington to send all Rhode Island troops home, for local defence, which was done later.

In the spring of 1778, General Pigot, British commander at New York, sent six hundred men up the bay to destroy a number of gunboats in the Kickemuit River, east of Warren. Landing just below the town, they marched across the peninsula, burned seventy flatboats, the row-

galley Washington and a grist mill. At Warren the troops set fire to the town, destroying the Baptist meeting house and other buildings, blowing up the powder magazine and taking a number of prisoners, marched to Bristol, which they entered without resistance, burned the Episcopal meeting house and eighteen dwellings, plundered the town and carried away forty prisoners.

On August 29, 1778, the most important and the most decisive event of the Revolutionary War, within the limits of New England, took place on the island of Rhode Island, known in history as the "BATTLE OF RHODE ISLAND." For nearly two years a large British fleet had occupied Narragansett Bay, and British troops had occupied the island of Rhode Island—a constant menace to the New England States—with an intention to use this strategic position to take possession of this section, when military affairs in the Middle States and the South were ripe for an invasion of the Northeast. It is true that the Burgoyne expedition had failed to cut off the East from the Middle States, from whence General Washington was carrying on the general campaigns, but Howe still hoped, by land and naval forces, to conquer and control all the territory east of the Hudson and Newport seemed best suited to his purpose.

At this critical time a wonderful deliverance came to the warring States, when Count d'Estaing, in command of a French fleet of twelve battleships and three frigates, after a stormy passage of ninety days from Toulon, anchored in Delaware Bay, to the great joy of Washington and the patriot forces. This was the turning point in the American Revolution, when final triumph was assured by the alliance of French naval and land forces. The battle of Monmouth led to the withdrawal of the British fleet from Delaware Bay to New York, ten days before the arrival of the French forces. D'Estaing followed Howe and anchored in the Narrows, with Howe's fleet above on the Hudson. With General Clinton at New York, in command of the British troops, and Howe, of the naval arm, the two officers decided to concentrate their forces at Newport for attack or for defence, and to that end 7,000 British and Hessians were brought to Rhode Island and made camp on the island in July, 1778. An attack on Providence was expected daily. The attention of General Washington was now directed to the defence of Rhode Island and Major-General John Sullivan, a brilliant leader, was sent to command the militia of the East and reached Tiverton in July. He reported to Washington that he had but 1,600 troops in the field. The Council of War called out one-half of the effective force of the State to serve for twenty days from August first, and ordered the other half to be ready on call. On July 29, Count D'Estaing, in command of the large French fleet with 4,000 men, arrived off Newport and blockaded the enemy in the bay. As a result of the blockade and the disposition of the fleet, the British troops on Conanicut

withdrew to Newport and the British vessels in the harbor, in the bay and in Sakonet River were either blown up or burned within ten days of the arrival of the French forces. Major-General Nathanael Greene and General John Glover volunteered, as did the Marquis de Lafayette, for the approaching battle. Two Continental brigades, Varnum's and Glover's, with two companies of artillery from White Plains, reached Sullivan August 3. Volunteers poured in from the neighboring States and on the 9th of August, General Sullivan, commanding 10,000 men, broke camp on Tiverton Heights and crossed to the north end of Rhode Island. At the same time the French fleet occupied the harbor and bay, having landed a large body of troops on Conanicut, as a reserve force for Sullivan's.

On the evening of August 9, while Sullivan was moving his troops to the island, Admiral Richard Howe, in command of thirty-six war vessels, thirteen of which were battleships and seven frigates, hove in sight off Point Judith. This unexpected event foreshadowed a naval engagement between the British and French fleets. D'Estaing was quick in action, although his act deranged the plan to furnish a reserve for General Sullivan. The 4,000 French troops on Conanicut were ordered to their ships, and, on the morning of the 10th, the French admiral sailed out of Newport Harbor to meet the foe. August the 11th was spent by the two fleets in maneuvers for the weather gage, and night delayed action. During the night a gale of unprecedented fury arose and continued for two days with cyclonic force. Such a storm of wind and rain broke all records on our New England coast. The two fleets were scattered and driven to ports of safety, while the *Languedoc*, Admiral D'Estaing's flagship, and the *Tonnaut* were dismasted and all of both fleets were disabled. Nothing was heard from either squadron for several days, when, on the 20th, the French fleet returned to Newport in a disabled condition, having captured, after the storm, two British cruisers and repelled the attacks of British battleships on the two mastless French ships. The storm beat with pitiless fury upon the land forces. Tents were blown away, provisions and ammunition destroyed or damaged, and the whole army was exposed to a cold and drenching rain. Some of the troops died from exposure and many horses perished. At Newport the force of the wind carried the ocean spray over the town and the windows were incrustated with salt. The war of the forces of wind and rain were more destructive to both land and naval forces than a great battle on land or sea.

General Pigot, with 4,000 men, had taken his position for the battle on the north hill side of Newport, between Tonomy Hill and Easton's Cove, occupying a front battle line of about two miles. Here he awaited an attack with stoical fortitude. Retreat was impossible; defeat seemed certain. General Sullivan marched down the island towards the British forces and halted his army, awaiting the return of the French fleet and

troops. His advanced line of a strong detachment of light troops, under Colonel Henry B. Livingston, of New York, took up a position within a mile and a half of the British lines and about two and a half miles from Newport Harbor. On the morning of August 15, Sullivan advanced his whole army, encamping within two miles of General Pigot's lines, his left occupying Honeyman's Hill, within a half mile of the enemy's line on Bliss's Hill. Here the American troops threw up entrenchments, and for five days a heavy cannonade was kept up along the lines.

The right wing of the army was under the command of Major-General Nathanael Greene on the west road, the left under General Lafayette on the east road, the second line of Massachusetts militia was under General John Hancock, late president of Congress, and the reserves under Colonel William West.

The French fleet returned to New York Harbor, August 20, in a most distressed condition, shattered by the gale and subsequent engagements, the men were exhausted by their rough sea experiences and absolutely disqualified for a land battle. Admiral D'Estaing, aware of the return of the British squadron and fearing naval reënforcement from New York to strengthen the enemy, decided to sail for Boston for provisions and repairs. Sullivan had sent Greene and Lafayette to induce the admiral to remain at Newport and coöperate in the defeat of Pigot's forces, but their solicitations were unavailing and the French fleet sailed away to Boston, for provisions and repairs, leaving Sullivan to whatever fate his unsupported forces might achieve. The American officers drew up a protest to the act of the admiral, which Lafayette refused to sign.

Sullivan's forces became greatly reduced by desertions of the militia, the army was short of provisions and the long delay had produced a general dissatisfaction, which it was difficult for the officers to prevent. The army of 10,000 men on the 6th of August had been reduced to about 5,000. A Council of War was held on the 28th of August, when it was decided to fall back to the fortified hills at the north end of the island and wait the return of the French forces from Boston. Troops still continued to leave, on the supposition that the fight would be delayed for an indefinite period. The New Hampshire troops left in a body, as did many of the volunteers and twenty-day men of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut. On the morning of August 29, Sullivan's army, on the retreat, was encamped on Butt's Hill, the right on the west road, under General Nathanael Greene, with a light corps under Colonel Laurens, Colonel Fleury and Major Talbot three miles to the south. Greene's right was made up of four brigades, Varnum's, Glover's, Cornell's and his own, while Colonel Livingston held the front of the left wing on the east road. The British, elated by the sudden change of conditions, decided on taking the offensive at once and marching out from Newport by the two roads,



Nathaniel

made an early attack on the American troops. Severe skirmishes took place between the picket and light troops of the two armies, the Americans withdrawing upon the main army. Colonel Campbell leading the British forces on the east road, decided to divide his regiment, deploying one-half of it to the left into a crossroad that led towards the centre of the field of battle. An American picket force lay concealed behind stone walls and as the British marched down the road the Americans poured a deadly fire of bullets into the columns, leaving a fourth of the men dead by this assault. Two Hessian regiments came to their aid, but the pickets had retired. General Glover, on the east road, met the advancing right wing of the British in a vigorous attack and forced them to retreat on Quaker Hill, about one mile south of Butt's Hill. Between the two armies lay a section of low, marshy land, intersected by a road and stone walls, with wooded sections on the flanks. This valley amphitheatre was the real battlefield of the two armies, with the superior numbers and fighting material on the side of the British. From nine o'clock, cannonading across the valley continued all day. Two British ships-of-war, sailing up the bay, opened fire on the right wing, under Greene, under cover of which the enemy made a desperate attempt to turn the flank and capture an American redoubt. This action now became general and the conflict continued nearly all day. The British and Hessians in their assaults on our center and right were in every instance repulsed with fearful slaughter. Sixty men were found dead in one spot and thirty Hessians were buried in one grave. The dead, dying and wounded in the valley in front of the two hills testified to the grim determination of the enemy and the valor of the Continentals. The negro troops, under Colonel Christopher Greene, performed deeds of desperate valor and proved a deadly foe to the Hessians, whom they met and repulsed in bloody charges. Lovell's brigade repulsed the British right, the battleships were driven off by our batteries, while an onslaught on the right was repelled by two Continental brigades, who saved the day. The British at last gave way and retreated to their fortifications on Quaker Hill, the cannonading continuing until night closed the events of the hardest fought fight of the Revolution. General Sullivan counselled an attack on Quaker Hill, but the conditions of his exhausted troops and the advice of his associate generals led him to abandon the purpose. The Americans lost in killed, wounded and missing 657, and the British 1,023. Of the 5,000 American troops, only about 1,500 had ever been in action, while the British and Hessians were veterans, disciplined in the hardships and arts of warfare.

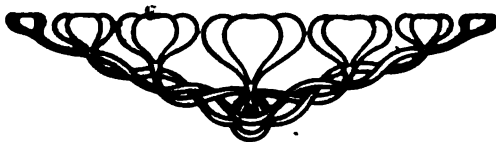
The courage and fighting ability of the American soldier was fully tested and abundantly illustrated in the Battle of Rhode Island and support the declaration, credited to General Lafayette, that "It was the best fought action of the war." Major-General Pigot closed his military

career with this battle and in September sailed home, leaving General Prescott in command at Newport.

Congress voted thanks to General Sullivan and his army for distinguished gallantry and wise conduct in retreat, his body guard received promotion and General Washington issued general orders to the officers and men in thanks for their distinguished services.

It is not easy to pronounce judgment on the Battle of Rhode Island, for at this remove it seems to have been neither a victory or a defeat for either side—rather a drawn game. General Sullivan relied on the coöperation of the French land and naval forces, but circumstances beyond human control prevented at the time the forward movement was planned. The unexpected in war is often the determining factor of the game. The arrival of the British fleet was unexpected and unprovided for. The northeast gale was unexpected, as well as its disastrous results. The departure of the French fleet for Boston and the breaking up of Sullivan's volunteer militia service were unexpected, and all these events turned certain success of the American arms into a day's conflict issuing in the actual retreat of both armies, with no sign of victory on either banner. There was good reason for disheartenment at Newport and all over Rhode Island. John Brown wrote to General Greene that the expedition was "the worst concerted and the most disgracefully executed of any during the war," to which Greene replied, "I cannot help feeling mortified that those who have been at home making their fortune and living in the lap of luxury, and enjoying all the pleasure of domestic life, should be the first to sport with the feelings of officers who have stood as a barrier between them and ruin." The facts are plain that the American command was able, that the plans as laid were wise, the forces adequate to meet and overwhelm the foe, had the battle taken place before August the 12th. Pigot was conscious of defeat and Sullivan of victory at that date. The 29th of August relieved General Pigot from overwhelming defeat, and left Sullivan and Greene to nurse on "what might have been." Let us ascribe wisdom to the command, valor to the troops, honor to the dead, and draw the veil of charity over all. American independence seemed near in August, 1778, at Rhode Island. It came October 14, 1781, when Captain Stephen Olney, of Rhode Island, led the storming column over the British works at Yorktown and Cornwallis delivered his sword to Washington. From April 22, 1775, to October 14, 1781, the State of Rhode Island was a constant, prompt, ardent participant in the War for American Independence on land and sea. She gave all of her able-bodied men to the State and Continental service. The General Assembly was vigilant in finance and complied with all requests of Congress or of General Washington for funds, to which the people responded in hard-earned taxation. The growing commerce of our bay was cut off by a British

embargo at Newport. Newport itself, our chief town and seaport, was made to bear with and support a British army for three years, which, on its departure, in October, 1779, left an island pillaged, sacked, destroyed and our capital city robbed of its wealth, many of its homes in ashes and despoiled of all its former excellence, pride, and power—a catastrophe from which it never recovered. The State gave to Congress, Hopkins, Ward and Ellery; to the army and navy, Varnum, Hopkins, Barton, Talbot, the two Greenes—Nathanael and Christopher, Whipple and Olney, while Arnold, Cooke, the Browns, Governor Greene and others were counsellors of State to keep the public affairs at home wisely adjusted to the progress and demands of the sister States. Major-General Nathanael Greene, in lineal descent from John Greene, a founder of Shawomet, was the first to unsheathe the sword of freedom in 1775, and Captain Stephen Olney, fifth from Thomas, of Providence, drew the “first sword that flashed in triumph above the captured heights of Yorktown.” Rhode Island deserved well of the Republic she helped to make and save.



CHAPTER XXXV

ROADS, POST ROADS AND POST OFFICES

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A high road or highway is a path or road slightly elevated above the land on its sides. In early Rhode Island, before the advent of horses, oxen, carts and carriages, the people travelled along the trails made by the Indians. These trails, now converted in many instances into public roads, are the oldest and most permanent of the memorials left by the natives. The sagacity and good judgment of the Indians as road engineers are manifest in the location of the long and short trails. The Indian trail was made on strictly business principles—direct in its lines, on hard, dry ground, avoidance of wet lands and streams that could not be forded, around rather than over the tops of hills, and through old forests rather than on open and cultivated lands. Where wide streams lay across the trails, canoes, logs, or swimming, accomplished the crossing, the Indians being experts in water navigation. These trails were so well known and well used that an Indian runner could make one hundred miles a day with ease. The terminals of the trails were not limited by tribal lands, but served as links to serve the intercourse and commerce of adjacent and distant tribes. For instance the Pequot Trail, taking its name from a small but active tribe in Southeastern Connecticut, is easily traceable to New York, the home of the Mohawks, on the West and to the East, through Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, to Maine, the homeland of the Abenakis and other Algonquin tribes. This trail was a trunk line between great tribes, from which diverged secondary trails to settlements and rendezvous of the several collective tribes. These primary and secondary trails covered New England with a network of well-worn lines of travel—the guides of many of our modern roads. As the Indians travelled in single file, the trails were narrow, and in the case of the main trails, several inches deep—in no sense highways, but rather low-ways. The buffalo trails of the prairies are excellent illustrations of ancient Indian trails, in most respects. The chief villages of the tribes were located on the main trails. Narragansett, the Indian capital of the Narragansett tribe, was located at Devil's Foot, in North Kingstown, and here was the home of Canonicus and Miantonomi, chiefs of the tribe. This location was on the Pequot Trail and Mr. Williams built his trading post within sight of the wigwams of these tribal rulers, thereby constituting himself the purveyor of the royal household.

These Indian trails were the first travelled ways of the English settlers of Rhode Island. It is probable that from Providence, much of

the travel was by water, rather than by land, in Indian or English made canoes. Mr. Williams often refers to his journeys by water and it is said that on one of his canoe voyages, his boat was upset and that his life was saved by an expert Indian swimmer. With the white settlers came English cattle and horses but both were slow in coming to the ownership of Rhode Islanders. Before the introduction of post riders on horseback, letters, messages and packages passed between the Rhode Island and other colonists by trusty white or Indian messengers, at private expense and arrangement. The evolution of the post rider, on horseback, with saddle-bags or leather pouches attached firmly to the saddle, was the slow process of a slowly developing inter-Colonial life. The isolation of the Rhode Island settlers from their neighbors, east, north and west, made an extra delay in frequent or official communications with neighboring peoples, even of a common stock and hardship.

The term "Post Roads" had its origin in France. They were routes selected over which couriers or letter-carriers traveled, having horses posted at regular places for their use and were instituted for carrying court or government messages. Such routes were established by Louis XI., June 19, 1464. As early as 1548 post routes and post-carriers were introduced in England for the same ends as in France. The English public received the benefits of post roads and carriers by an act of Parliament about 1672, although in Elizabeth's reign, 1581, the office of Chief Postmaster of England is mentioned, and under James I. the office of Postmaster for Foreign Parts was created.

Letter-writing was a fine art in the New England colonies and few were written. There were no newspapers or periodicals. Letters were carried to and fro by friends or travellers. Masters of vessels were accustomed to receive letters and packages and deliver them to such persons as would assist in their delivery without pay. On the arrival of a vessel in port, people would visit the captain for letters from friends. In 1639 the Colonial government made the house of Richard Fairbanks, Cornhills, in Boston, the repository of New England letters, he to send them elsewhere as directed. In 1677 John Haywood was appointed to receive and send letters to their destination, for which labor he received one penny for each letter—two cents. In 1674 the government of Rhode Island was invited to join Massachusetts in a war against New France (Canada) and the establishment of a post office between Boston and Rhode Island for speedy intelligence. On February 17, 1691-92, the English Crown authorized Thomas Neale to establish post routes and post offices in the American Colonies and on April 4, 1692, Andrew Hamilton was chosen to receive and dispatch letters and packages at such rates as the people should agree to pay. Boston was chosen as the first town for the receipt and dispatch of post matter. Rates of local postage were as follows:

Each single letter from across the ocean, one shilling, two pence; each packet of letters, one shilling, four pence. Inland mail: From Rhode Island to Boston, single letters each a six pence; from Connecticut to Boston, a single letter nine pence; from New York to Boston, each letter twelve pence. Two pence was allowed for house delivery of letters that had remained in the post office two days. All public letters went free of postage. The post was to pass all ferries free. The post passed from Boston to New York once a week. The postmaster provided men and horses with necessary equipment to ride and deliver mail matters. All letters were paid on delivery by the post-rider.

The route of the earliest official post-riders between Boston and New York is not recorded, but it was probably from Boston to Providence and thence by the Pequot Trail to Westerly, New Haven and New York. This was known as the "Lower Road" or "King's Highway" and was the oldest "Post Road" to New York, having been in use as a post road as early as 1737. The "Upper Road," from Boston to New Haven by way of Springfield, had been in use in 1755, but was not advertised as a post road until 1764. The "Middle Road," from Boston to Hartford by way of Pomfret, was in use as early as 1758. The "Lower Road" was the first and *only* "Post Road" from Boston to New York by way of Providence prior to 1764. The distance, as laid down in Jacob Taylor's Almanac for 1737, was two hundred and seventy-eight miles. The earliest itinerary of this historic trail and later post road was as follows under date of 1697: "From New York to Boston it is accounted 274 miles, viz.: From the post office in New York to Jo. Clapp's in the Bowery, is 2 mile (which generally is the baiting place, where gentlemen take leave of their friends going so long a journey), and where a parting glass or two of generous wine

'If well applied, make their dull horses feel
One spur i' the head is worth two in the heel.'

"From said Clapp's (his tavern was near the corner of Bayard Street), to half-way house, 7 miles; thence to King's bridge, 9; to old Skute's, at East Chester, 6; to New Rochel Meeting House, 4; to Joseph Norton's, 4; to Denham's, at Rye, 4; to Knap's, at Horse-neck, 7; to Belben's (Beldens?) at Norwalk, 10; to Burr's, at Fairfield, 10; to T. Knowles', at Stratford, 9; to Andrew Sanford's, at Milford, 4; to Capt. John Mills', at New Haven, 10; to the Widow Frisbie's, at Branford, 10; to John Hudson's, at Guilford, 22; to John Grissit's, at Killinsworth, 10; to John Clarke's, at Saybrook, 10; to Mr. Plum's, at New London, 18; to Mr. Sexton's, 15; to Mr. Pemberton's, in the Narragansett Country, 15; to the Frenchtown (near Roger Williams' trading house), Narragansett, 24; to Mr. Turpin's (Providence), 20; to Mr. Woodcock's (Woodcock's Garri

son House, Attleboro), 15; to Mr. Billing's Farm, 11; to Mr. White's, 6; to Mr. Fisher's, 6; and from thence to the great town of Boston, 10, where many good lodgings and accommodations may be had for love and money."

Thus the Pequot Trail from Boston to New York was the pioneer post route between the two Colonial towns as early as 1737. It is of interest to note that the taverns on the route are located, and the keepers, who furnished victuals, drinks and lodgings, are named—a fact quite as interesting to the traveller as the sparsely settled towns and villages through which he passed.

In 1753 Benjamin Franklin, of Philadelphia, received the appointment of deputy postmaster for the American Colonies. Franklin had been postmaster of Pennsylvania for ten years and that experience added to his remarkable abilities made him the superior of his countrymen for the Colonial office. During the first official year, Franklin made a tour of the Colonies for inspecting and establishing mail routes, and it is said that he visited every office, except the one at Charleston, South Carolina. Five months were spent on the trip, riding in a chaise with a registering wheel attached, noting the distance traveled and setting mile posts along the route from Boston to New York along the "Pequot Trail" and thence south on the "King's Highway."

The first travelled ways in Rhode Island were the well-worn Indian trails, which were traversed on foot and on horseback. The first highways were laid out by individuals on their estates and by the towns connecting several estates for public uses. In the fencing of farms, gates and bars were often met as obstructions to rapid travel, each landowner claiming the right to enclose his own property, each owner "to keepe sufficient inlett with gates or barres convenient for cartes to passe through." The probate records of Providence of 1700 show that horse carts and wheel vehicles, also saddles with pillions, were owned by the wealthy, but all were of little service for journeys over the bridle-ways of that period. Bridle-paths were made as the convenience of individual owners of the lands dictated. In 1686 Governor Sanford reported to the English government that there were "a few horses in the Colony." Travellers and baggage were carried across rivers, on ferry boats of private owners, for a certified price or toll. Madam Sarah Kemble Knight, of Boston, in her diary, gives a lively description of a journey to New York, on horseback and alone, in 1704. The passage across Rhode Island, and her experiences at Haven's tavern, at Narragansett, are thrilling and her poem to "O Potent Rum" has flavor of "Chocolett." In 1713 "it was ordered that the Great Highway between Pawtucket and Pawcatuck should be repaired and a new one opened from Providence to Plainfield, Conn., through Warwick and West Greenwich." In Barrington, the Sowams proprietors laid out a township system of highways, two, four and eight rods wide.

Portions of three of the eight-rod highways retain their original width. Gates and bars obstructed many of the old highways until the middle of the nineteenth century. Turnpike roads were built to improve the conditions of public travel. As the cost of construction was more than that of an ordinary road, toll was paid at toll houses located at intersecting points, and tollkeepers collected from drivers or owners of carriages, horses or cattle passing through toll gates. Turnpikes, ferries and bridges in Rhode Island were made free from the payment of toll about 1870.

The first bridge in Rhode Island was built over the Moshassuck river, above the falls and grist mill, about 1662.

January 27, 1667, in town meeting, it was ordered "that Mr. Roger Williams shall receive toll of all *strangers* which shall hereafter pass over the bridge at Wapwaysett, also that of all *inhabitants* of the Town he shall receive what each person is freely willing to contribute towards the supporting of the aforesaid bridge." The bridge at Weybosset was built by a later generation and its support with the bridges over the Pawtucket and Pawtuxet were kept in safe conditions by the Colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, as they were parts of the New England post route to New York. It is of interest to note that the first legalized lottery in Rhode Island was a scheme for fifteen thousand pounds for building or rather rebuilding Weybosset bridges in Providence. Samuel Chace, the first postmaster of Providence, was appointed clerk to draw the lottery in 1744. The second lottery was granted in February, 1747-48 for paving the streets of Newport, and at the same session a new ferry was established between South Kingstown and Jamestown, to take the place of one established in 1707. Prior to this streets had been paved and bridges built from the proceeds of duties on imported slaves.

The opening, straightening and making of public highways in the town was vexatiously slow and the construction was unscientific and wasteful of time, labor and money. Dirt roads, made of the loose dirt of the locality, were the rule, unfit for travel except in the dry periods of the year. Macadam, the English road engineer, died in 1836, leaving to his generation in England some improved highways, but the American people were in no mood to adopt English improvements of any sort. The cities and large towns, by the middle of the nineteenth century, had established grades, made sidewalks and constructed gravel roadbeds with paved surfaces. From 1850 to 1900 the country towns, near and remote, adopted more intelligent plans of road-building, chose more competent surveyors of highways and made great advances in the line of stable road structure. The economic argument began to enter into the minds of the taxpayers as rutty, muddy thoroughfares came to be considered hindrances to business and population as well as to easy locomotion.

Franklin was postmaster of the American Colonies from 1753 to 1774, when he was dismissed by the English government on account of his active sympathies with the Colonies in their struggle for independence. The Colonies, however, immediately established their own postal system and on July 26, 1775, Benjamin Franklin was elevated to the position of Postmaster-General by the Continental Congress. Our postal system of the United States began its existence under the wise and patriotic administration of Benjamin Franklin, its first organizer. In 1754 James Franklin, brother of Benjamin, was made postmaster at Boston, with the post office in his house on Cornhill. The first postmaster in Providence was Samuel Chace, holding the office ten years from 1754 till 1764. The system of transporting mail matter and passengers by public stage lines running regularly on schedule time was inaugurated in the Colonies by Captain Levi Pease in 1783. As Boston, Providence and Newport were three of the largest towns in New England, Newport being larger than Providence, stage routes were established between them soon after the introduction of the new plan of travel.

In June, 1775, post routes and riders and post offices were established by the General Assembly in Newport, Providence, Bristol, Warren, Tower Hill, South Kingstown and Westerly, and a committee was appointed, consisting of Nathaniel Otis, of Newport; John Carter, of Providence; Jonathan Russell, of Bristol; Shubael Burr, of Warren; Ray Sands, of Tower Hill, and Dr. Joshua Babcock, of Westerly, as postmasters. Peter Mumford was chosen as post rider from Newport to Providence and Benjamin Mumford from Newport to New London, Connecticut. Messrs. Joshua Babcock, John Jenckes, William Bradford and Joseph Anthony were made a committee to agree with postmasters and post riders as to their services and pay and all accounting of postmasters was to be made to the committee. All letters sent to or coming from the town of Boston were to be postpaid and submitted by the post-rider to the examination of the commander-in-chief of the American forces at Cambridge or to a committee chosen by the Provincial Congress of the Massachusetts Bay.

The rates of postage in Rhode Island were fixed by the General Assembly in 1775 and were as follows: For any distance not exceeding 60 miles, $5\frac{1}{4}$ pence; 60 miles, not exceeding 100, 8 pence; 100 miles to 200 miles, $10\frac{1}{4}$ pence; 200 miles to 300 miles, 1 shilling; 300 miles to 400 miles, 1 shilling, 4 pence; 400 miles to 500 miles, 1 shilling, $6\frac{1}{4}$ pence; 500 miles to 600 miles, 1 shilling, 9 pence; 600 miles to 700 miles, 2 shillings; 700 miles to 800 miles, 2 shillings, $2\frac{1}{2}$ pence; 800 miles to 900 miles, 2 shillings, 5 pence; 900 miles to 1,000 miles, 2 shillings, 8 pence. These rates for single letters were doubled and trebled for double and treble letters and for every ounce weight the postage was four times a single letter. In this plan for maintaining an intercourse between the

Colonies and their peoples, each Colony paid the expenses of the post-rider, upon the usual post road. On recommendation of the Continental Congress, May 12, 1777, the General Assembly voted to exempt postmasters, post-riders and all persons immediately concerned in post office duties from all military duties.

In August, 1775, John Lasell as post-rider carried a mail from Providence to New London, Connecticut, leaving Providence on every Tuesday afternoon to return as soon as possible. His pay was \$85 a year. On the establishment of the Continental system, local management was transferred to Colonial. William Goddard, of Providence, the second postmaster of the town, from 1764 to 1769, proposed the formation of a joint stock corporation to establish and maintain post offices under a postmaster-general, chosen by the corporate body. This plan, though ardently advocated, did not meet with popular favor. On the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in 1789, the Federal Congress took exclusive control of postal matters for all the States, established general rates of postage and passed laws regulating the post office department of the government. In 1800 the postal rates at all Rhode Island post offices were for single letters, a single sheet of paper, not over 40 miles, eight cents; not over 90, ten cents; not over 150, twelve and one-half cents; not over 300, seventeen cents; not over 500, twenty cents; over 500, twenty-five cents; double triple and quadruple rates for two, three and four sheets of paper. The letter envelope was not then in use.

The first postmaster of Providence was Samuel Chace. Little is known of him, except that he was appointed by Franklin and served from 1754 to 1764, presumably to the satisfaction of the people. The Colonial records state that Chace was made a freeman of Providence in 1745, and the year before was clerk of the managers to draw the first lottery of the Colony for raising money to build Weybasset bridge at Providence. William Goddard followed Mr. Chace as postmaster of Providence, from 1764 to 1769. Mr. Goddard, the ancestor of the Goddards of Providence, was born in New London, Connecticut, in 1740; removed to Providence; established and edited the *Providence Gazette and Country Journal* in 1762, the first newspaper in the town; served as postmaster under Franklin and was chosen by him as surveyor of the post roads and comptroller of post offices for all the Colonies. John Cole, the third postmaster of Providence, was a lawyer, born in South Kingstown; was chief justice of the Colony one year, 1764-65; a deputy in the General Assembly and Speaker of the House in 1765. Mr. Cole was a devoted patriot and a faithful administrator of public trusts.

John Carter was the fourth postmaster of Providence, serving the town from 1772 to 1790. Of Philadelphia birth, he served as an apprentice in Franklin's printing office, came to Providence, became a business

partner of Mrs. Sarah Updike Goddard, under the firm title of Sarah Goddard & Company, bought and edited the *Gazette* in 1768 at the age of twenty-three and continued to manage and edit the paper until his death, in 1814. John Carter Brown was the son of his daughter, Ann Carter, who married Nicholas Brown. John Carter's printing office and probably the Providence post office was at Shakespeare's Head, Meeting street. The house is still standing, opposite the old school house.

William Wilkinson graduated from Brown University in 1783, became principal of the University Grammar School and librarian of the college; was appointed postmaster of Providence by President Washington, serving from 1790 to 1802; opened a book store and printing office at the corner of Market Square and Canal street in connection with John Carter, editor of the Providence *Gazette*, continuing in book publishing and selling until 1817. Mr. Wilkinson died in 1852 at the age of ninety-two, closing in full mental vigor a life of great devotion to the town and the college.

Benjamin West, born in Rehoboth, Massachusetts, was a scholar, a professor in the university, an eminent astronomer, a mathematician and a publicist. He was the appointee of Thomas Jefferson and was the able and efficient postmaster of Providence from 1802 to 1813, when, at his death, he was succeeded by his son-in-law, Gabriel Allen, who held the office until his own death in 1824.

Bennett H. Wheeler was the eighth postmaster of Providence, serving from 1824 until the accession of President Jackson, in 1832, who removed him to make room for a Jackson Democrat, in the person of E. J. Mallett, of Huguenot stock and a North Carolinian by birth. Visiting Providence, he married the daughter of Governor James Fenner, in 1820, and engaged in shipping business here until 1829, when he became assistant editor of the *Herald*, a Jacksonian Democratic paper, and for faithful services was appointed postmaster of Providence, holding the office from 1832 to 1844. While in Providence he erected the brick block, Nos. 16, 18, 20 and 22 South Main street and the court house in the rear, the first in the State. These buildings were used by the State and the United States until the erection of the post office building on Weybasset street and the court house on Benefit street. Removing to New York in 1847 Mr. Mallett was elected president of the St. Nicholas Bank, and in 1858 was sent as Consul-General to Italy. In the Civil War, he was a strong Union man and appointed a paymaster by President Lincoln.

Welcome B. Sayles was the tenth and twelfth postmaster of Providence from 1844 to 1848, and again from 1853 to 1857. Mr. Sayles was a most efficient public officer and an ardent patriot, popular with men of all parties. Slain while leading his regiment in action in the Civil War, he died in defence of the Union and the Constitution, which he had so ably de-

fended by tongue and pen. His successors in the Providence office have been Henry L. Bowen, 1848-1853; Albert S. Gallup, 1857-1861; Walter C. Simmons, 1861-1865; Ephraim S. Jackson, 1866-1874; Charles R. Brayton, 1874-1879; Henry W. Gardner, 1879-1886; Charles H. George, 1886-1895; Richard Hayward, 1895-1901; Clinton D. Sellen, 1901-1909; Walter A. Kilton, 1909-1918, and Edward F. Carroll, 1918—. The portraits of all the Providence postmasters, except John Cole, are preserved in the postmaster's office, Federal Building, Providence.

The stage coach was an early invention, as early as the twelfth century. An old ballad credits Queen Eleanor, wife of Louis VII. of France, and of Henry the Second of England, with its introduction:

"She was the first that did invent
In coaches brave to ride."

There were six stage coaches in England in 1672, it is said, against which one Cresset felt moved to publish a pamphlet, as they encouraged too much travel. Boston had its first coach in 1669. In 1680 "one horse cart and wheels, with other horse tacklings" was inventoried at £2, 15s. at Providence.

The coach was first confined to the carriage of royalty, but later Yankee adaptation turned a private benefit to a public utility, in conveying passengers, mails, baggage and express from place to place. As early as 1736, at the October session of the General Assembly, Alexander Thorp and Isaac Cushno petitioned for the exclusive right to run a stage coach to Massachusetts from Rhode Island. The record does not state the precise points between which it was to run, but it is certain that Providence, Newport and Boston must have been the terminals, and possibly New York. It was a great undertaking for that day, and its prosecution called for an unusual amount of enterprise, courage and faith and some capital. The right was granted to these gentlemen for a period of seven years and Samuel Vernon, William Coddington and Joseph Whipple were the committee to make the contract binding with a bond, as the petitioners were a livery stable keeper and a saddler of Boston. Staples says, "Probably this stage, if it ever run, went from Newport to Boston."

The curricule, a two-wheel chaise, drawn by two horses, was in use in Providence as early as 1770. Samuel Thurber relates that in his boyhood (born 1761) he saw a curricule owned by Colonel William Brown, and that it was sometimes used to carry people to Boston, as "now and then" a person wanted to go. "It would take him about three days to go and return. After awhile Thomas Sabin, I think, was the first that set up a stage; he generally went once a week. After him, Robert Curry and Samuel Whipple; when they got through by daylight, they thought to have done well. * * * May, 1776, I went to Pomfret, thirty-six miles, in a chaise; the

road was so rough and stony that I could not ride out of a slow walk but very little of the way; I was near two days in going, such was the general condition of our roads."

The stage coach of the middle of the eighteenth century was a four-wheeled carriage, in weight from twelve to fifteen hundred pounds, strongly built and drawn by four or six horses of about 1,200 pounds each. In July, 1767, we find the first advertisement, in the *Gazette*, of a regular stage coach running between Providence and Boston. Thomas Sabin announced that "one starts every Tuesday morning from the house of Richard Olney, inn-holder, to carry travellers to Boston, on the most expeditious and cheap rate." On its return, the coach left Boston on Thursday mornings, reaching the Olney tavern late in the evening. This tavern stood on the west side of North Main street, in front of the Old State House, now the Sixth District Court House. Tradition tells us that in the earlier days of stage coaches to Boston, a stop was made at Wrentham for the night, going and returning. The stage owner at first gave notice a week or two beforehand of the intended trip to Boston, that passengers might prepare for so important a journey and, if need be, execute their wills, in case any ill-fortune should befall them. Not many people cared to make the long and somewhat venturesome trip. It was a real wonder to see a man who had visited New York or Philadelphia. As business, acquaintance and people multiplied, travel increased, and in due time stage coaches made daily trips to and from Newport and Boston by way of Providence. A passenger, leaving Newport or Boston on Monday morning, would reach his destination at the other town on Tuesday afternoon or evening, at an expense of three dollars for stage and an equal sum for lodging and meals at taverns on the seventy mile journey, at Dedham, Wrentham, Attleboro, Providence, Warren or Bristol. The coaches could carry twelve passengers on the inside and, when crowded, as many more outside, with a stack of baggage strapped on the back or loose on the top. Express business was also carried on by stage owners. A letter delivered by post at Boston or Newport, on the second day, cost the sender or receiver twenty-five cents. For some years prior to 1792, the stage route from Newport to Boston passed through Portsmouth, crossed Bristol Ferry, through Bristol, Warren, Swansea, Barneysville, Rehoboth, Providence, Pawtucket, Attleboro, Wrentham and Dedham. Relays of horses were made at Bristol, Providence and Wrentham. In 1792 John Kelley, of Barrington established a rope cable ferriage across the river between Warren and Barrington, and thereafter the Newport coaches crossed from Warren to New Meadow Neck, now Hampden Meadows, by Monroe's Tavern, through Rehoboth to Providence, crossing the Seekonk River, at Fuller's Ferry, now Tockwotton bridge, into Providence. About 1810 the route was again changed from Warren to Providence, passing

through Barrington Centre, entering Seekonk at Wannamoisett, and following what is now Pawtucket avenue, on the east shore of Providence river, crossing the Seekonk river into Providence by Washington bridge. Taverns were essential accompaniments of stage coaches, feeding and lodging stage coach and general travel on main highways of travel. Post offices were in many instances located in taverns, where the people were accustomed to congregate evenings or on the arrival of the mail coaches.

On the establishment of a line of steamboats between Providence and New York, post-riders and stage coaches gave way between these points and the stage coach business between Boston and Providence assumed gigantic size and great utility. The popular route between Boston and New York was by way of the "Citizens' Line," with Providence headquarters and steamer depot at India Point. Three hundred horses and a large number of coaches were in constant use in operating line, the Boston coaches landing their passengers in a commodious station at Providence. One hundred Boston travellers were often booked in one day. The stages left Boston, with passengers, mail and baggage at 5 a. m., stopping at Gay's Tavern at Dedham for breakfast. Frequently ten or twelve coaches were in line, bound for India Point, where they were due at 11:30 a. m., the steamer leaving at 12 m. The route from Milk street, Boston, lay along what is now known as Washington street to Pawtucket, through Roxbury, Dedham, Walpole, Wrentham and Attleboro. Post-riders usually made the trip between the two towns in six or seven hours. President Jackson's message of 1830 was delivered in Boston by post-riders in two hours and forty-five minutes. The message, brought to Providence by the New York steamer, was lashed around a whip handle, which as the boat reached the wharf, was thrown to a mounted rider, who rode with all possible speed, passing it on from one fleet courier to another, each receiving it riding at full speed.

In 1834, the Boston & Providence railroad was opened to travel and post roads, post routes, post-riders and Boston and Providence coaches vanished from reality into history. To the railroad has been added the telegraph, the telephone and the automobile, all of which are accessories to rapid transit in travel and in communication. The European war has aided mightily in the new science of aviation as a practical and rapid mode of transportation of men, material and postal matter, so that we are warranted in believing that aeroplanes will carry passengers, mails and all forms of express from city to city and nation to nation, as swiftly and as safely as the flight of the swiftest birds, within a decade of this writing. Already the signs of such a mighty revolution may be seen, over all lands and seas and in the heavens over us. With the coming in of the "Fast Age," we may expect to see land travel by auto-carriages, over State, national and international highways, with surfaces of smooth asphalt,

cement or stone, safeguarded, at a speed of from fifty to a hundred miles an hour for ordinary travel and from one hundred to two hundred miles an hour in extremities. That day will usher in the new American highway, founded on the bed of the old New England Indian trail, widened to at least two hundred feet, straightened to air line travel and provided with all the safeguards of life and property that modern science and great capital can devise and operate. Our vision is obscured as to the full expansion of the facilities of travel and of human intercourse during the course of the twentieth century. We now "see through a glass darkly." Let it suffice that we, of an earlier generation, have lived to see the passage of the post road, the post-rider, the Colonial tavern, the four-horse stage coach, trundling its slow way over rough and muddy roads, carrying with its human freight Uncle Sam's mail bags from village to village, and are now enjoying the dawn of the new day, when the modern electric-driven steel car, electrically heated, sweeps along at the rate of eighty miles an hour, while over our heads the swift-winged aviator is surpassing us in his flight, with the mighty mail bags of the United States service. AND YET THERE IS MORE TO FOLLOW.

Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* is a waking reality—"I'll put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes."

STATE ROADS IN RHODE ISLAND.

The development of our present system of State highways in Rhode Island dates from the year 1892, when a committee of the General Assembly was appointed for the purpose of examining into the conditions then surrounding the public highways of the State and to make recommendations to the General Assembly as to the most feasible means of improving conditions. This committee made an exhaustive examination of the highways of the State and reported its findings to the General Assembly in 1895.

The condition of the public highways of Rhode Island was found by the committee to be decidedly poor. The committee expressed itself of the opinion that the reasons for the conditions then prevailing upon our public highways were the meagre appropriations for the construction and maintenance of roads, unskilled supervision, difficult grades and poor alignment and the disastrous effect produced by narrow steel tires. The committee further reported that there were then about 2,420 miles of public highways in the State, of which two hundred and forty-eight miles were of macadam, three hundred and twelve miles of gravel and the remainder of dirt.

The committee recommended that sample half-miles of macadam road be built in the various towns by the State in order to educate the local officials in charge of road work as to proper methods of construction,

that a State Highway Commissioner be appointed to supervise the construction of these roads and to give advice and assistance to local authorities and also that a geological survey of the State be made in order to secure data concerning the character and availability of local road building materials.

The recommendations of the committee were, in the main, adopted by the General Assembly. An act providing for the appointment of a State Highway Commissioner was passed at the May session in 1895. Charles F. Chase, a civil engineer of Providence, received the appointment as Highway Commissioner.

An appropriation of \$34,500 was made for the purpose of constructing sample sections of macadam road. In 1896 \$30,000 was appropriated for the same purpose, and in 1898, \$7,500 was appropriated. The first road built under the direction of the State Highway Commissioner was in Bristol, where one-eighth of one mile was finished in 1895. In the neighborhood of twelve sample half-mile sections were constructed under the direction of the State Highway Commissioner at costs varying from \$4,000 to \$10,000, depending largely upon the necessity for heavy foundations and for extensive grading. These sample sections of macadam were very well built, great attention having been paid to matters of foundation and drainage. Several of these sections remained serviceable for a period of twenty years.

The public apparently considered the construction of the sample half-mile sections altogether too expensive to warrant the building of State roads upon a large scale. The General Assembly reflected public sentiment in this regard by repealing in 1899 the act creating the office of Highway Commissioner.

Nothing more was done toward the building of State Highways until the year 1902, when our present State Highway law was passed. This law provided for the appointment by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, of a State Board of Public Roads, consisting of one man from each of the five counties of the State. The men first appointed to the board were John H. Edwards, of Exeter; Frederick E. Perkins, of Providence; Robert B. Treat, of Warwick; William C. Peckham, of Middletown, and John F. Richmond, of Barrington. Under the provisions of the State Highway law the board appointed an engineer to serve as adviser to the board and to supervise the construction of State roads. Robert F. Rodman, of Allentown, was the man appointed as engineer.

At the January session of the General Assembly in 1903, the board recommended for adoption by the General Assembly of a system of State roads consisting of the principle highways of the State. Fifteen important through roads constituted this system of highways, the combined length of all being two hundred and forty-nine miles.

The actual construction of State roads by the board began in 1903 and has progressed without serious interruption since that time. Roads other than those originally constituting the State Highway system were from time to time designated by the General Assembly as State Highways, so that now over eight hundred miles of roads have been placed upon the State Highway system. Approximately three hundred and twenty-five miles of public roads have been constructed by the State.

Until the year 1907, all of the roads constructed by the State were of the plain or waterbound macadam type. The advent of motor vehicles in large numbers with the resulting differences in the wear of the roads caused waterbound macadam to be insufficient to withstand the travel to which the main roads of the State were subjected. More modern types of construction gradually became common. A tendency to appropriate funds for new construction and to neglect the appropriation of funds for maintaining the roads previously built brought about rather a serious condition about 1912. Many of the old macadams had deteriorated so seriously by reason of the shearing effect upon their surfaces by motor vehicle tires that the reconstruction of these roads became a paramount problem in the State Highway work of Rhode Island. Many miles of old macadam still are in existence in various stages of preservation. Many miles have, however, been rebuilt with more modern types of pavement.

An important modification of our State Highway law occurred in 1912, when all bridges lying upon State roads were placed under the direction of the State Board of Roads. Previous to that time, all bridges were in the hands of local authorities. Over forty unsafe, wooden structures have since 1912 been replaced by ornate, durable concrete bridges. Over \$4,000,000 has been spent to develop our present system of State highways and bridges.



CHAPTER XXXVI

THE DORR WAR



SULLIVAN DORR HOUSE

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THE DORR WAR.

"This Country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember and overthrow it."

These were the words of Abraham Lincoln, in his first inaugural address as President of the United States, March 4, 1861. At that very moment, treason and rebellion were plotting for the overthrow of the most just and liberal government on the face of the earth.

The great patriot-statesman added, "Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world? * * * If the Almighty Ruler of Nations, with his eternal truth and justice, be on your side of the North, or on yours of the South, that truth and that justice will surely prevail by the judgment of this great tribunal of the American people."

No more fitting words could guide our thought in the discussion of a memorable event in the history of Rhode Island, styled "THE DORR WAR."

In the year 1842, the usually quiet, law-abiding hamlet of Chepachet, in the town of Gloucester, was the political storm-center of great opposing forces, not only of the State of Rhode Island, but also in a measure of the neighboring States of the New England group, of New York, and of the Government at Washington. The cyclonic forces gathered about a large body of the yeomen of Rhode Island, and more especially and eminently about their leader and chief, Thomas Wilson Dorr, whom they recognized by the title of "Governor Dorr," who had issued a Proclamation for a meeting of a General Assembly styled the Suffrage Assembly, to be convened at Chepachet, a temporary capital, on the following Independence Day, July 4, 1842.

Thomas Wilson Dorr was well born—of noble blood, as New Englanders count nobility. His father, Sullivan Dorr, was a successful China merchant, who came to Rhode Island from the Bay State in 1805, erected the Dorr mansion on the ancient estate of Roger Williams, not many rods from the site of Mr. Williams' first log cabin. Above the mansion house on the estate, were the graves of Roger Williams and his family, and near the grave of the founder was the now famous apple tree, which drew its sustenance from the bones of the ancient apostle of civil and religious liberty, and of the fruit of that apple tree, of which the youth-

ful Dorr partook, who knows how much of the spirit of the grand old apostle of Democracy was imbibed unconsciously by this young disciple. Phosphates are good fertilizers. Sap and scions are near relations, and an apple tree root may have transmuted Roger the Apostle of Religious Freedom into Thomas the later Apostle of Civil Equality.

Wilson's grandfather, Ebenezer Dorr, the same night that Paul Revere struck out on his midnight ride to Lexington and Concord *via* Cambridge Common, mounted a jogging old horse, with saddle-bags dangling behind him, and with his face concealed by a large flapping hat, looking very much like a country doctor, rode out over Boston Neck, through Roxbury, to Lexington, rousing the country folks up and "To arms," reaching Lexington at the same hour as his compatriot, Paul Revere, and bearing despatches from General Warren that the British troops were on the way to destroy the military stores at Concord. Soon after leaving Rev. Jonas Clark's house in Lexington, Dorr and Revere were captured by a reconnoitering party of British, but, alarmed by the ringing of the country church bells, the Yankee prisoners were released, and the patriot riders dashed on to Concord Green and there awoke the people to welcome the red coats with their musket shots, "heard around the world." The great ancestor Joseph Dorr came to Boston from England about 1670.

Of Sullivan Dorr, father of Thomas, the Providence Journal said at his death in 1858, "No man among us enjoyed or deserved a higher reputation for the sterling qualities that make up a manly character. *

* * He was respected by all who knew him and beloved by all who knew him well."

Dorr's mother was of distinguished Allen blood, Lydia her name. Zachariah Allen, the great philosopher-historian-manufacturer of Providence, was her brother. In their veins mingled the blood of Gabriel Bernon, the French Huguenot, and of Thomas Harris of Providence. Sullivan and Lydia (Allen) Dorr grew to the estate of marriage under the political influences of the formative period of the Republic, with Federalism triumphant, during the administration of Washington and Adams; united their fortunes in 1804, and in 1805, their first-born son appeared, under the brilliant political constellation of Thomas Jefferson, the Father of American Democracy. The astrologers predicted a new star, just below the horizon, *and it arose*. The boy was named Thomas Wilson in honor of a business friend in China, whom the father loved as a brother. That the boy was a brilliant student appears from the fact that Phillips-Exeter Academy, New Hampshire, had fitted him for college at the age of fourteen, and that he graduated from Harvard College at the age of eighteen, the second scholar in rank in his class. He studied



THOMAS W. DORR
Elected Governor Under the People's Constitution

law in the city of New York under the tuition of the great jurists, Chancellor Kent and Vice-Chancellor McCoun and at the age of twenty-two was admitted to the Rhode Island Bar and opened an office for practice in his native city, Providence, in 1827.

Dorr's splendid talents, high social rank, and a family fortune, opened before the young lawyer the vista of a brilliant future. In his physique, Thomas Wilson Dorr was a man of mark; in fact, he might have borne the soubriquet of "The Little Giant," as appropriately as Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, whom he much resembled in size and stature. A large, round head was joined to broad shoulders by a stout neck. His body was thick-set, tending to corpulency. The forehead was full, high, intellectual, with an early tendency to baldness. His eyes were bright, full, sympathetic; his nose regular, his mouth delicate and pure, his chin, owing to the shortness of the neck, was strong, but was lost in the flesh that underlaid it. His face was well shaven. He wore a high collar with a broad, stiff stock about his neck. He was always dressed in genteel style, with a silk hat, a military cloak, and often carried a cane. Some of the pictures of Dorr remind one of Napoleon as pictured at St. Helena, and one can almost see in the facial contour the masterly qualities of the great "soldier of fortune." A genial home, a family of which he was the oldest and most beloved son and brother, with sound health of mind and body, troops of friends, able and popular in his native city, Thomas W. Dorr entered on his life work with great promise and few, if any, handicaps. In mental acumen and independence of judgment, Dorr was the Wendell Phillips of his day; in courtesy and generous temper, a Curtis; in initiative, a Roosevelt; in statesmanship, a Bryan; in all these qualities one of the greatest constructive propagandists and patriots ever born on Rhode Island soil—the bright particular star of our nineteenth century horizon.

Young Dorr seemed to have taken life seriously at the start, and the influence of his great teacher, Chancellor Kent, must have moved him to take up the profound questions of law, education and government with great sincerity and devotion. In 1834, at the age of twenty-nine, he was elected to the General Assembly by the limited suffrage of the freemen of his native town, holding the office by annual election for three years. A little later, Mr. Dorr was chosen a member of the school committee of Providence, of which then large body he was made its president. Mr. Dorr, appreciating the value of a liberal education for youth, advocated the establishment of a public high school for Providence, for up to the year 1839, secondary education in Rhode Island had been enjoyed only at private expense, thus preventing the ambitious children of the poor from obtaining more than a very limited common school education. His arguments prevailed with the people and in 1840, Thomas Wilson Dorr, the

educator, laid the corner stone of the high school building on Benefit street, now the home of the Supreme Court of the State, the first building erected by the people of the State for the free education of youth in secondary studies. Unconsciously, but surely, the State of Rhode Island has paid its silent tribute to Mr. Dorr, in transmuting the temple of secondary education, erected through his influence, into the highest temple of justice of the commonwealth.

Mr. Dorr was also the first to advocate the establishment of the office of Superintendent of Public Schools, and by his urgent efforts Mr. Nathan Bishop was elected superintendent of the Providence schools, the first to hold the office in the United States.

"The Dorr Revolution" as it is known in history entered on its active season of campaign in the year 1840. Thomas Wilson Dorr, the leader of the suffrage party, was thirty-five years old, in the full strength of a vigorous manhood, an intellectual and political leader among a multitude of strong men of the legal profession, of whom were Samuel Y. Atwell, Joseph K. Angell, the distinguished counsellor and law writer; General Thomas F. Carpenter, the leader of the Rhode Island Bar; David Daniels, Levi C. Eaton, John P. Knowles, an Independent in politics; Dutee J. Pearse, Attorney General of Rhode Island, and United States District Attorney for Rhode Island and a member of Congress from 1826 to 1837; Aaron White, Jr., and many others.

The battle, at first political, culminating in a military display and show of arms at Chepachet, was waged over the question of the residence of the Supreme and Ultimate Sovereign Power of the State. Mr. Dorr and his party declared that according to "the Republican theory of this country this power resides in *the People themselves*," a power superior to Legislatures or Courts, inasmuch as Courts and Legislatures are the creatures of the people, exercising their functions according to fundamental rules prescribed by the people in the solemn enactments of Constitutional Government. The party holding such views was called, The People's Party, the members of it, Dorrites. The Freeholders' Party, *alias* Algerines, maintained that the Sovereign Power resided in the Freemen, or Freeholders, or those who possessed a certain landed estate, and their oldest sons. They claimed that the right of suffrage was not a natural but an acquired right, and that it inhered in the possessors of land, and the descent of right by primogeniture to the oldest son of such land-owners.

The one maintained the doctrine of universal manhood suffrage. The other as firmly held to the doctrine of suffrage limited by a fixed property qualification—"sand and gravel suffrage"—as it was sometimes piquantly styled. Here you have a live issue, fundamental, of paramount

importance, and involving issues of tremendous consequence to the State. It was the contest which feudalism bequeathed to modern civilization and government, a remnant of fifteenth century doctrine surviving in the nineteenth.

It is but fair to state that the freehold suffrage doctrine was held by many of the fathers of the Republic. In the convention which framed our National Constitution, the question of a property qualification for office-holders as well as voters occupied days of debate. Charles Pinckney of South Carolina urged that a candidate for President should possess a fortune of \$100,000, a Supreme Judge \$50,000, and a like proportion to members of Congress. Franklin made answer: "I dislike everything that tends to debase the spirit of the common people. If honesty is often the companion of wealth, and if poverty is exposed to peculiar temptation, the possession of property increases the desire for more. Some of the greatest rogues I was ever acquainted with were the richest rogues. If this constitution should betray a great partiality to the rich, it will not only hurt us in the esteem of the most liberal and enlightened men in Europe, but discourage the common people from coming to us." The motion of Pinckney was rejected by a general "No."

On the question of the qualifications of electors for members of Congress, Gouverneur Morris of New York desired to restrain the right of suffrage to freeholders. He was supported by Dickinson of New York, and James Madison of Virginia, who declared that the freeholders would be the safest depositories of Republican liberty. Ellsworth of Connecticut asked, "Ought not every man who pays a tax to vote for the representative who is to levy and dispose of his money?"

Butler declared: "Abridgements of the right of suffrage tend to revolution." "The true idea," said Mason of Virginia, "is that every man having evidence of attachment to the Society, and permanent common interest with it, ought to share in all its rights and privileges."

Rutledge of South Carolina, said, "The idea of restraining the right of suffrage to the freeholders would create division among the people, and make enemies of all who should be excluded." On the final vote on the proposed qualification by Morris, Delaware alone voted in its favor.

Let us, for a little, look at the background of *Rhode Island Sovereignty* as it appears on the pages of our ancient records. The founders of our commonwealth were of English blood and heritage. Under English rule they were subjects, not sovereigns. There was one Sovereign, the King, and the laws were of his making. In crossing the sea, these men and women changed the skies over their heads and the lands on which they settled, but they were still subjects, not sovereigns. Where-

ever they made settlement, Boston, Plymouth, Providence, Newport, New Haven, New York, whatever independency they might claim, was clouded by the superior independency of *the Crown over their heads, not on them*. Whatever claim they might make as to civil freedom was limited by the scope of the Royal privilege under which their charters were granted. The term "freemen" in our early records has no significance of value as a civic asset, but rather a social or civil distinction and prerogative. Men and women were admitted as inhabitants who never enjoyed the privileges of freemen. In Massachusetts Bay, only church members were allowed such privileges. In Providence, by the terms of the proprietary, "the masters of families" were the governing and voting body. The first-comers or proprietors claimed the right to pervert or deprive of citizenship and civic privileges *any* and *all*, not agreeable to them. So long as the ruling class, or aristocracy, paid their taxes and paid obedience to royal authority, there was no dissent on the part of the English Crown.

The settlers on Aquidneck, March 7, 1638, incorporated themselves into "A Bodie Politick," submitting their persons, lives and estate unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of His given us in His holy word, to be guided and judged thereby, and elected William Coddington as Judge and Ruler.

A year passes and the freemen of Portsmouth acknowledged themselves "as loyal subjects of His Majesty, King Charles, and in his name, doe hereby binde ourselves into a civill body politick, unto his laws according to matters of justice." In 1641, the freemen of Newport, to the number of 56 (four others having been disfranchised before the meeting), unanimously agreed that "the Government which this Bodie Politick doth attend unto in this island and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our Prince is a DEMOCRACIE, or popular government; that is to say, it is the power of the Body of Freemen orderly assembled, or the major part of them, to make or constitute just laws by which they will be regulated and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between Man and Man."

* * * * *

The founders of our Commonwealth established a limited Democracy under a limited monarchy, a composite of government which included the Colonial estates on the Western Continent. General Sovereignty resided in the Crown. Local Sovereignty resided in the major part of firstcomers and their legal political heirs. Suffrage and freemanship were movable assets, subject to the will of the majority of those possessing the privileges. A freeman to-day, might be disfranchised on the

morrow, without redress, for a wrong committed or a right wrongfully taken away. The Roger Williams Patent of 1643-49 and the Royal Charter of Charles II, of 1663, neither enlarged or abridged the rights of the major part of the freemen to make and execute laws, nor did either State paper deal with the individual franchise. The supremacy of the town government, one of the peculiar features of the independency of the Rhode Island foundation, rested on the original right of the towns to determine the matter of citizenship *alias* freemanship, a right which was transferred from the towns to the General Assembly of the Colony by an Act of the Assembly passed at Newport, May, 1665. After setting forth the form of the Freeman's Oath, the Act proceeds:

This (General) Assembly, "Do order and declare, that so many of them that take the aforesaid enjoyment (that is householders or aged eighteen or more) and are of competent estates, civil conversation, and obedient to the civil magistrate, shall be admitted freemen of this Colony upon their express desire therein declared to the General Assembly, either by themselves, with sufficient testimony of their fitness and qualifications as shall by the Assembly be deemed satisfactory; or if by the chief officer of the town or towns where they live, they be proposed and declared as aforesaid; and that none shall have admission to vote for public office or deputies or enjoy any privilege of freemen till admitted by the Assembly as aforesaid and their names recorded in the general records of this Colony."

In 1723-24, the General Assembly passed an Act granting admission as freemen to a "freeholder of lands, tenements, or hereditaments in such town where he shall be admitted free, of the value of one hundred pounds, or to the value of forty shillings per annum, or the eldest son of such freeholder; any act, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding."

In 1729, the £100 was increased to £200, and in 1746, to £400. In 1760, the property qualification was reduced to £40, and in 1798, on a revision of the General Laws of the State by the General Assembly, the value of the requisite real estate for suffrage was declared to be \$134, or a rental value of \$7 per annum. This property must lie within the State, but not necessarily in the town in which the candidate for a freeman lived or presented his request. It needs no argument to show that Rhode Island had proceeded from a Democracy in which the majority held rule to a "landed aristocracy" and in addition had made that aristocracy hereditary through the law of primogeniture, conveying the titled prerogative of freeman to the oldest son from generation to generation. This restricted suffrage was in full force and effect in 1840, when the suffrage-submerged, male population of Rhode Island, twenty-one years

of age and over, sought to possess themselves of a portion of State Sovereignty, of which they regarded themselves unjustly and unconstitutionally deprived. And, strange to say, the anomaly of the property qualification for suffrage as established in 1723, still remains as a dark blot on the fair pages of the natural and constitutional rights of the citizenship of Rhode Island, a vestige of that ancient feudalism which created the estates of lords and serfs, and erected and still holds up the standard of a small landed aristocrat over the head of the sturdy manhood yeomanry of a Commonwealth, in the Greatest Republic of the World.

The events and issues culminating in the Dorr War, may be stated briefly as follows: From 1636 to 1776, the sovereignty of the Colony of Rhode Island resided in the English Sovereigns from Charles the Second to George the Third. The action of the American Colonies and the issue of the Revolution transferred the Sovereignty from the reigning King to his former subjects, the people of the United States of America, as a nation, and to the people of the several colonies in conjoint partnership. As sovereignty is an attribute of persons and not of things, it could not inhere in real property nor in institutions controlling the same. Eleven of the old colonies, now Sovereign States, framed and adopted constitutions in harmony with the principle of the Declaration and the Articles of Confederation, by reason of which, Sovereignty was made to inhere in the people and the ballot, or individual suffrage was made to coincide with a male electorate over twenty-one years of age. Rhode Island and Connecticut still held to their original charters, the latter until 1818, the former until 1842. It is worthy of note that from the fourth of May, 1776, to May, 1843, the date when our present constitution went into effect, Rhode Island was governed under an unwritten constitution, like the English Government, in an opinion given by Chief Justice Story in 1829, in the name of the "Supreme Court of the United States." That opinion declared the annulment of the Charter by the Act of the General Assembly of May 4, 1776, and the consequent transference of Sovereignty to the people.

The General Assembly of the State, acting under supposed Charter authority, continued to exercise supreme legislative, executive and judicial powers, notwithstanding repeated attempts to secure a convention to frame a State Constitution. In 1797, George Burrill, a lawyer of Providence, a brother of United States Senator Burrill, urged the adoption of a State Constitution, saying that unless there was power somewhere to bring about a change, Rhode Island would forever exhibit the paradox of a "free, sovereign and independent people desirous of changing their form of government without the power of doing it." In 1797 and again in 1799, propositions relative to calling a convention to form

a constitution were defeated by the land-freeholders in the General Assembly, the men in the exercise of power, refusing to surrender it. In 1808, the great jurist, Henry Wheaton, strongly urged the adoption of a State Constitution. In 1821, the proposition to appoint delegates to form a written Constitution was rejected by the freemen, 1619 in favor, 1905 opposed; the next year the same proposition was defeated by a vote of 843 yeas to 1804 nays. In 1824, a convention held at Newport, framed a Constitution that was rejected by the freemen by a vote of 1668 in favor, to 3206 against it.

In 1834, delegates from twelve towns, including Providence, Newport, Cumberland and Smithfield, met in Providence, "to decide upon the best course to be pursued for the establishment of a written constitution which should properly define and fix the powers of the different departments of government and the rights of the citizen." In this convention, held February, 1834, we are first introduced to Thomas Wilson Dorr, in connection with the agitation for the extension of the right of suffrage. Dorr was a delegate from Providence and chairman of a sub-committee of five to prepare an "Address to the People of Rhode Island," on the need of a new Constitution. An adjourned session of the convention was held at Providence, March 12, 1834, when Mr. Dorr presented, in what was acknowledged a masterly paper, the first clear statement of those who wished a State Constitution. The report opens with a declaration of loyalty to the "ancient sturdy spirit of Rhode Island patriotism," "counsels concession and compromise on matters of local politics," and urges that "the Constitution should be the fundamental law of the State, coming directly from the free and Sovereign people." "When the American States severed the political tie which formerly bound them to Great Britain, all obligation to acknowledge obedience to a British Charter as a Constitution of Government was of course dissolved; and the people of each State were left free and sovereign."

"The Sovereignty of the King of England passed, not to the Governor and Company of Rhode Island, but to the people at large, who fought the battles of the Revolution and to their descendants."

"That the people of Rhode Island retain their inherent right to establish (in their original sovereign capacity) a Constitution cannot be doubted." Mr. Dorr affirmed that the Rhode Island government was an "oligarchy or the rule of a few," and not republican, "a government resulting from the will of the majority, ascertained by a just and equal representation."

Still further, Mr. Dorr says, "We contend that a participation in the choice of those who make and administer laws is a natural right, which cannot be abridged, nor suspended any farther than the greatest good of

the greatest number imperatively requires." By this rule Mr. Dorr excluded women and minors from the provision of suffrage.

The convention of 1834 brought forth nothing in form, but the results of the movement were important, in the production of an issue and the discovery of a competent leader of the people's movement in the person of Thomas Wilson Dorr.

The six years following were full of agitation of the suffrage question, by which the people of Rhode Island were made familiar with the arguments for and against Dorr's claim for manhood suffrage. The most radical address of the time purporting to have its origin in New York, set before the people of the State a definite method of securing a liberal constitution starting with the people in primary meetings, much after the method now in operation for primary or preferential elections. By a natural and easy political process, the legitimacy and legality of the action of the people was to be determined by the United States Congress by virtue of its authority in determining the validity of the election of Senators to that body.

In the autumn of 1840, the Rhode Island Suffrage Association was organized by Providence men for inaugurating anew the movement for a constitution with freer suffrage. Woonsocket followed, and before the spring of 1841, nearly every town in the State had a free suffrage society. These organizations were non-partisan and during the heated campaign of the Whigs and Democrats in 1840, the organs of neither party treated the local suffrage with much consideration. As a brief compend of political conditions in 1840-42 and the long debate on the suffrage question, I quote the declaration of principles of the Rhode Island Suffrage Association:

1. All men are created free and equal.
2. Possession of property should not create political advantages for its holder.
3. That every body politic should have for its foundation a bill of rights and a written constitution.
4. That Rhode Island had neither.
5. That the charter lost its authority when the United States became independent.
6. That every State is entitled to a republican form of government.
7. That any State is anti-republican which keeps a majority of the people from participating in its affairs.
8. That by every right, human and divine, the majority should govern; and
9. That the time has gone by for submission to most unjust outrages upon social and political rights.

These propositions led to the following resolutions:

1. "That the power of the State should be vested in the hands of the people, and that the people have a right, from time to time, to assemble together, either by themselves or their representatives, for the establishment of a republican form of government."

2. "That whenever a majority of the citizens of this State, who are recognized as citizens by the United States, shall by their delegates in convention assembled, draft a constitution, and the same shall be accepted by their constituents, it will be to all intents and purposes, the law of the State."

Before entering the final stage of the free suffrage or Dorr campaign, which culminated at Acote's Hill, we are prepared to state and to understand clearly the position of Dorr and his party.

First: That manhood suffrage is a natural and not an acquired right, to be exercised by every citizen, unless forfeited by crime or incompetency.

Second: Sovereignty, in republican state, inhered in the citizenship, not in the soil. At his trial, in 1844, Mr. Dorr said, "The Sovereign power in a republic is a tenancy in common; no person has a right to rise up against the laws. The Sovereign power is not in the legislature. It would be a solecism to speak of a Sovereign Court or a Sovereign Senate. * * * In a political and legal sense, the sovereignty is not in the electoral body. * * * There is a sovereign power superior to all governments. The people, individually are subject to government, but jointly. They are above all governments." "In the State, the political people are nearly coincident with the Sovereign people, the people who are tenants in common of the sovereignty. * * * I believe in the Sovereign, outside of all organizations."

Third: The people have an unalienable and indefeasible right, in their original, sovereign and unlimited capacity, to alter, reform, or totally change the same, whenever their safety or happiness requires.

Fourth: The Charter of 1663 was annulled by the Act of May 4, 1776. In his opinion, Mr. Dorr was sustained by the United States Supreme Court.

— Fifth: Every Republican Commonwealth should have the protection of a Bill of Rights and a Constitution limiting and declaring the people's rights, duties, and limitations.

And Sixth: For the Sovereign people of a Republican State, as Rhode Island, but one course was open for them to pursue and that was by a properly ordered convention to register the people's will in a Constitution to be ratified by all the people claiming citizenship under the laws of the United States.

In support of these strong positions, Mr. Dorr cited Jefferson, Madison, Munroe, Jay, Washington, and others of the Fathers of the republic.

In opposition to the opinions and arguments of the suffragist was the position of the people calling themselves "The Law and Order Party," or "The Freemen's Party." This party claimed that the Charter of 1663 was the constitutional law of the State and that its provisions and all Colonial and State Legislation since its adoption were binding on the people of the State. They claimed that the power to call a convention to adopt a constitution was vested in the General Assembly, the legislative branch of the government. Authorities like Judge Pitman of the Supreme Court, Dr. Francis Wayland, President of Brown University, Dr. Channing of Massachusetts, urged that the majority argument of the suffrage party was revolutionary in that it gave to the people, at any and all times the power to resolve themselves into "their original sovereign capacity" and that the action of a majority without due process of law was "revolution, not reform." The suffragists answered their opponents by saying that twenty of the twenty-five State constitutions then adopted declared that sovereignty lay in the people and that they had the right to change the government. Eight of these constitutions gave the people the right to change the form of government, "in such manner as they may think proper," or "as they may deem expedient," and Virginia declared that "when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right to reform, alter or abolish it in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal."

At the January session of the General Assembly, 1841, the town of Smithfield in a memorial, prayed that Body "to take the extreme inequality of the present representation from the several towns under consideration, and in such manner as seems most practicable and just to correct the evil complained of." A select committee, of which Asher Robbins was chairman, reported on the memorial in favor of a convention to frame a new constitution for the State. On July 6, 1841, the Assembly passed an act for such a convention to be held in Providence in November, 1841, delegates to be chosen at the semi-annual election in August. The vote in the House of Representatives stood 37 in favor, 16 against, and 18 absent or not voting. The Law and Order Party had now ordered a convention, but the suffragists had little confidence in the outcome of such a convention, springing as it did from the General Assembly as Freeholders. At the same time, it contravened the main principle of their contention that a constitution should originate with the people and not from what seemed to the Dorr party only a *de facto* government.

The Dorr party resolved on a popular parade in Providence which took place April 17, 1841, and at least 3,000 men, possibly 3,500, joined in the procession. All wore the badge "I am an American Citizen."

Banners were carried bearing such legends as, "Worth makes the man, but sand and gravel the voter." "Virtue, Patriotism and Intelligence versus \$134 worth of dirt." "I die for Liberty." "Peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."

This demonstration, unusual for the times, and unexpectedly large, greatly encouraged the Suffrage party, converted some of the freeholders' class, and compelled the Freeman's party "to stop, look and listen." There was "a sound of a-going" in the tops of the political mulberry trees of Rhode Island.

The time for argument and education had passed; the time for action had come. The suffragists decided to make the issue on the rights of the people to hold a People's Convention for framing a Constitution and Saturday, August 28, 1841, was set as the day for the choice of delegates, three days in advance of the date of the semi-annual election of members of the General Assembly, when delegates were also to be chosen to the convention, ordered by the State Legislature.

Although the day was rainy, 7,512 votes were cast, and delegates to the convention were chosen from all the towns except East and West Greenwich and Westerly. It is estimated that of the 10,000 freemen in the State, 2,500 had voted, and in several of the towns the delegates belonged to the freemen class. Of the 18 from Providence, more than two-thirds were freemen. The convention met in Providence on Monday, October 4, 1841, and by the following Saturday, October 9, the Constitution was framed and the body adjourned to meet again after the people had examined the document. The leading men of the convention were Thomas W. Dorr of Providence, Dutee J. Pearce of Newport, Ariel Ballou of Cumberland, John R. Waterman of Warwick, Joshua B. Rathbun of Tiverton, Perez Simmons of Providence, Palemon Walcott of Smithfield, Dr. J. A. Brown and Samuel H. Wales of Providence. So little public interest was awakened by the convention, that Mr. Dorr is quoted as saying that he feared an adjournment would be the death-blow to the Constitution. It did meet, however, on November 15th, and closed its labors on the 18th. The most vital debate at this session was over the limitation of the right of suffrage to "every *white* male citizen." A motion to strike out the word "white" won 18 votes out of a total of about 100. A provision was adopted, by which the General Assembly should submit to the electors, the question whether the word "white" should be stricken out, and until so amended, persons excluded from voting by reason of their color were exempt from military duty and from taxation.

The Freeman's Convention met November 1, 1841, remained in session two weeks and without completing their work adjourned to

February, 1842, leaving the suffrage matter open for later consideration, with the suggestion that suffrage be limited to the owners of \$134 worth of land, or of \$500 in personal property.

Two constitutions were now before the people of Rhode Island, the People's, representing the views of the free suffragists, and the Freeman's Constitution, originating in the act of the General Assembly. Time does not allow a comparison of these two documents. Impartial judges have given the preference to the People's, in its general principles, independent of the suffrage question, which was of course the major point at issue. It was an up-to-date document, consonant with a Republican form of government and in accord with the constitutions of most of the other States. The Freeman's on the other hand, seems to have been fashioned on political and partisan lines, going only as far as the leaders of the party felt compelled to go, and no farther. The main question of a property qualification was strictly held as the sheet anchor in saving the Ship of State from driving on the shoals or rocks of full and equal popular Sovereignty. The framers treated the people without property as a dangerous political element, that could not be trusted with the ballot. This was and has been the burning question in Rhode Island for more than a half century, and, admitting equality in the two State papers on all other points, the larger bounds of primary rights of citizenship raised the People's Constitution to the first position of statecraft.

The 27th of December, 1841, and the two succeeding days were selected as the date for the adoption or rejection of the People's Constitution. Each voter affirmed, "*I am an American Citizen of the age of twenty-one years, and have my permanent residence, or home, in this State. I am (or not) qualified to vote under the existing laws of this State. I vote for (or against) the Constitution formed by the Convention of the people, assembled at Providence, and which was proposed to the people by said Convention on the 18th day of November, 1841.*" The result of the ballot on the People's Constitution showed 13,944 votes in favor, and 52 against it, a clear majority of 13,892. An examination of the ballots showed that 4,960 freemen and 8,984 non-freemen had voted for the adoption. It was estimated that there were 10,000 freemen in the State and 13,000 non-freemen, or citizens of the United States, not entitled to vote. If these supposed figures were correct, the People's Constitution polled 69 per cent. of the non-voting citizenship and lacked half a hundred votes of a majority of the freemen, and a clear majority of nearly 4,000 over the total citizenship of the State.

In March, 1842, the people were called upon to vote on the adoption of the Freeman's Constitution. The number of votes cast was 16,702, of which 8,013 were in favor, and 8,689 against, and it was defeated by a

majority of 676 votes. In this contest it appears that the Suffrage Party united with the Charter Party in opposing the Freemen's Constitution, against the liberal, or Law and Order Party, which favored concessions to the people.

In order to test the attitude of the Supreme Court of the State on the validity of the People's Constitution, a private request was made by advocates of a new constitution for an opinion thereon, which was as follows: "We state then, as our opinion, that the Convention which formed the People's Constitution assembled without law; proceeded without law; it was voted upon without law, and that said Constitution was without law. Any attempt to carry it into effect by force would be treason against the State, if not against the United States."

Immediately followed the "Nine Lawyers' opinions," headed by Hon. Samuel Y. Atwell of Chepachet, one of the ablest and most powerful lawyers of the State, to reassure the wavering that the only difference in the two Constitutions legally and in authority inhered in their origin, one from the Legislature and the other from the Sovereign people.

In March, 1842, the General Assembly met after the defeat of the Freemen's Constitution, when Mr. Atwell introduced a Bill to re-submit the People's Constitution to the people of the State. "If adopted," he said, "it would be the law of the land; if rejected, there would be an end to the matter, according to the principles of the suffragist party." Mr. Atwell's bill was defeated, 3 to 59.

The General Assembly enacted that all meetings for the election of State officers other than in accord with State laws, were illegal and void, and that any person accepting a State office because of such election would be deemed guilty of treason and subject to imprisonment for life.

The drama proceeds. February 16, 1842, the suffragists held a convention to nominate a State ticket. Gen. Thomas F. Carpenter, a Democrat, was selected as candidate for Governor, but he declined in favor of a Whig, Judge Wager Weeden. On April 11, a new ticket appeared with Thomas W. Dorr as candidate for Governor; an election was held on April 18, and in every case but one the general officers and Senators were chosen unanimously, receiving 6,360 votes or about 7,500 less than the vote on the Constitution in 1841.

The Charter Election was held April 20, when Samuel Ward King was elected Governor by 4,864 votes. He was opposed by General Carpenter who polled 2,211 votes, as a regular Democrat, under the Charter.

The Dorr General Assembly met in Providence, May 3, 1842, when two military companies, with muskets loaded, as was claimed with ball cartridges, with a procession of two thousand civilians, escorted Governor Dorr from the square in front of the Hoyle Tavern, down Westminster

street, across the Great Bridge, through Benefit and North Main streets, *passing the old State House twice, thence* to a foundry building, near the corner of Eddy and Dorrance streets where the Assembly held its sessions. The State House was closed and barricaded, but it is generally conceded, that had Dorr broken over the barriers and taken possession of it and of the Arsenal, the success of the Dorr government would have been assured, as public sentiment in Providence was strongly with Governor Dorr, as was shown by the vote on the People's Constitution, when 1,060 freemen and 2,496 non-freemen voted for its adoption. Dorr was in favor of capturing the State House; but the other leaders and advisors thought it too radical a measure and prevented the Governor from the act which would have enabled him to possess himself of the Capitol and its archives, among which was the Royal Charter and the Records of the State, and thereby become *de facto* Governor.

The General Assembly organized at the foundry, the oath of office was administered to 66 of 80 representatives elected and 9 of the 12 Senators. Governor Dorr's message was a clear and forcible State paper, stating the position and principles of the People's Party, and urged prompt action in organizing the militia, the registration of voters and the protection of the ballot. He closed by quoting the constitutional provision that "The laws should be made, not for the good of the few, but of the many, and the burdens of the State ought to be fairly distributed among its citizens." People's Assembly was in session two days, during which time the extremes of courage and cowardice were singularly manifest. Traitors to the Charter Government of the State, they dared to meet as a Legislature, with imprisonment or failure staring them in the face. While voting to demand the State Records of the Charter Secretary, they also voted by a large majority not to allow their newly elected sheriff to take possession of the State House with the two companies at his command and the Charter Government at that very hour in session at Newport, with Governor King and all the State officials thirty miles away. Men who dared to face a life sentence in the State prison dared not, in obedience to the strong desire and purpose of their chosen leader and Governor, force a lock or break a pane of window glass in the State House. It was an hour that called for brave men to follow a brave leader. Lowell has it

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood for the good or evil side,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light."

On that 4th of May, 1842, the People's Cause went down to Defeat and the clock of popular Sovereignty was stopped for many long years.

The Dorr Assembly adjourned to meet on July 4th—two months away—after a session of two days. Dorr at once left the State on a hurried tour to interview President Tyler at Washington and secure if possible the aid of the United States government, but was refused. The Charter Assembly at Newport also sent a committee to Washington, and obtained a promise of support by the President, in case military aid was needed. This act seems one of cowardice, since the State had control of all the military organizations, and had not attempted to call out its military force. But the embassy returned with the President's promise to aid the Charter Party in case of need.

Governor Dorr returned on the 16th of May to find that several members of the People's Assembly were under arrest and that several had resigned. The *Providence Journal* had declared, "The revolution is in a state of suspended animation. Governor Dorr has hid or run away. Pearce is missing, Sheriff Anthony has absquatulated, the Secretary of State's office is over the line and their headquarters nobody knows of. Their General Assembly has evaporated."

During his absence from the State for twelve days, Governor Dorr was treated with high consideration in Connecticut and in New York, and was especially honored by Tammany Democrats in New York City. Among his admirers were Samuel J. Tilden, later a candidate for President of the United States, William Cullen Bryant and other prominent New Yorkers. In New York the proposition to use military force for the maintenance of the People's Constitution was discussed, growing out of promised military aid to the Charter Party by the administration, under the advice of Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State. In such an emergency, Governor Dorr stated that he was promised 5,000 troops from New York to assist in the defence of the People's cause. The People's Governor was welcomed on his return to Providence by a crowd of 3,000 persons and a procession, in part of armed men, escorted him through the principal streets of the city to the residence of Burrington Anthony on Atwells avenue. Before dismissing the assembly, he made an address, judged "well timed and eloquent" by his friends and "furious and inflammatory" by his foes. He displayed a sword, given him in New York, and according to one witness the Governor declared that "that sword had been dipped in blood once, and rather than yield the rights of the people of Rhode Island, it should be buried in gore to its hilt." As bombast was not the Governor's usual style, it is quite probable that what Dorr did say, that "the sword had never been dishonored, and never would be while in his hands," was made very lurid and bloody by the imagination of the hearer. Undoubtedly, the sword meant to Dorr and his audience the probable issue of the struggle in bloodshed and civil war, for in his

proclamation issued on his return, he said, "It has become my duty to say that as soon as a soldier of the United States shall be set in motion by whatever direction, to act against the people of this State, in aid of the Charter government, I shall call for that aid to oppose all such force, which, I am fully authorized to say will be immediately and most cheerfully tendered to the services of the people of Rhode Island from the city of New York and from other places. The contest will then become national, and our State the battleground of American Freedom. As a Rhode Island man, I regret that the Constitutional question cannot be adjusted among our own citizens. * * * They who have been the first to ask assistance from abroad can have no reason to complain of any consequences which may ensue."

* * * * *

The scene changes. The time for argument has passed. An appeal is made to arms, the Gordian knot of Sovereignty is to be cut—not untied. The reformation of political ills through the ballot box is suddenly changed to a Revolution, to be determined by the bullet and the bayonet. Twelve days of absence from the State has transformed the civil constitutional leader into a military commander, who teaches the manual of arms to citizen farmers and store-keepers, and pulls the lanyard of disabled cannon in a foolhardy attempt to capture the Arsenal, the military headquarters of the Algerine party, on Cranston street, Providence.

On the night of May 17th, Governor King called on the militia of Providence to be ready for action and the companies outside the city were ordered to report in the city, armed and equipped for war. A Council of War was held at Dorr's headquarters on Atwells avenue, early in the evening, at which the governor declared his purpose to seize the Arsenal and then to establish barracks in the college. Having done this, he thought he would be strong enough to seize the armories and market-house. He was opposed by his military advisors, his relatives, and members of the People's Assembly, but their councils had no effect in changing the governor's purpose. About midnight a military company arrived from Woonsocket. Orders were issued for an attack on the Arsenal, the signal gun was fired at twelve o'clock, and before two o'clock Governor Dorr, at the head of 234 men, set out for the Arsenal, which was garrisoned by 200 volunteers, under command of Colonel Leonard Blodgett. A demand was made on the commandant of the Arsenal to surrender. Colonel Blodgett asked, "In whose name?" The reply was, "On the part of Colonel Wheeler and in the name of Governor Dorr," to which Colonel Blodgett replied that he did not know Colonel Wheeler or Governor Dorr. Governor Dorr now gave an order to fire on the arsenal. The guns

flashed twice, but no reports. Had either of the two guns discharged a shot, actual war would have begun, as at the firing on Sumter, and the Arsenal would have replied from all its full stores of cannon, guns and ammunition. We can easily surmise what might have been. The Dorr Rebellion would have ended on Cranston street, Providence, and not at Acote's Hill, forty days later.

Dorr brought his two guns off the field, with fifty men of his command, at sunrise. The balance of 150 had deserted, and at eight o'clock a letter was handed to the governor, informing him that all the officers of his government in Providence had resigned. Before nine o'clock of the 18th of May, Governor Dorr was in flight to Woonsocket.

A short chapter ends the revolutionary career of Governor Dorr. The place was Chepachet. The day of Dorr's arrival, Saturday, June 25, 1842. Since his hurried departure on May 18, the Governor had divided his time in consultation with his friends and advisers in Connecticut and New York. Acting under some signal from the chief, a large number of men had collected at this quiet village, which had become the centre of exciting scenes and whither had been brought muskets, ammunition and several pieces of artillery. The newspapers reported the presence of from 600 to 700 men. Governor Dorr reported about 200 men fit to service.

Governor Dorr had decided to make one more trial at arms, and was accompanied from New York with "The Spartan Band" of about 20 men under command of Michael Walsh. A military council was called to determine what action should be taken. Meanwhile the Dorr forces had begun to fortify Acote's Hill by throwing up earthworks about the western summit, and mounting several cannon, commanding the Providence Turnpike, on the east and south. Governor Dorr reached Chepachet from North Killingly, Connecticut, on the morning of Saturday, June 25, and was surprised to find his forces "posted in an untenable position" on a hill 80 feet high with an eminence of 130 feet easily commanding the situation a little to the south. On Saturday, Governor Dorr sent orders to all the towns in the County of Providence for all the people's militia "to repair forthwith to headquarters for its defence," and Sunday was equally a day of arrivals and departures.

The Law and Order or Charter government leader, Governor King, learning of the gathering of Dorr followers at Chepachet, ordered the militia companies of the State which had been in training for more than a month, to report within two or three days at Providence. On Saturday afternoon, 1,600 men were reviewed on Smith's (now Capitol) Hill, and it was estimated that 2,500 men with muskets and ammunition were quartered in the city, that night. Sunday, June 26, added to the Charter

forces at least 500 men, the army numbering from 3,000 to 4,000 men, being in command of Major General William Gibbs McNeil, who had headquarters at the Tockwotton House, India Point, Providence. Sunday and Monday passed and the army was in camp in Providence and neighborhood, awaiting orders to move on the enemy's works at Chepachet, the advance guard under Colonel William W. Brown, with 497 men, occupying Greenville, within eight miles of the seat of war, and equidistant from Providence. Monday night, all was bustle in the Charter camp and the advance at Greenville was ordered to move at once to Chepachet. Using great caution and moving evidently under fear of flank attacks from the woods or behind the walls on the road, Colonel Brown reached Acote's Hill, Tuesday morning, June 28, about eight o'clock, having covered a march of eight miles in twelve hours—a most remarkable feat of military timidity, stolidity, and immobility.

Before night on Tuesday, the people of Providence read on the bulletin board of the Journal, Military order No. 54.

The village of Chepachet and fort of the insurgents were stormed at quarter before eight o'clock this morning, and taken with about one hundred prisoners by Colonel William W. Brown; none killed and no one wounded.

It is difficult to prevent one's pen from running off into facetious frolicking over this grandiloquent military order and report, when the facts are stated. Governor Dorr found on Monday that his expected supporters had deserted him and that his trusted friends had denounced his military plans and had joined the Charter ranks. He saw around him a group of devoted followers, farmers and mechanics mostly, who were not bent on war or on offering themselves as sacrifices for the people's cause, then in such a hopeless case. To them "Discretion was the better part of valor," remembering the couplet,

"He that fights and runs away
Will live to fight another day;
But he who is in battle slain,
Will never rise to fight again."

In the afternoon of Monday, Governor Dorr saw the utter hopelessness of a duel at arms and sent a letter to Walter S. Burgess, in Providence, in which he wrote, "Believing that a majority of the people who voted for the Constitution are opposed to its further support by military means, I have directed that the military here assembled be dismissed."
* * * "Since the people have deserted us, whether from cowardice or otherwise, and gone over to the enemy, giving them the majority, we ought not to contend longer; it would be a faction against the majority."

That letter was sent by special messenger from Chepachet to Providence where it was received at seven in the evening. It was at once communicated to Governor King and General McNeil, when the Law and Order forces were ordered to move and capture Acote's Hill. Meanwhile Governor Dorr had driven to Connecticut and the men of his command had scattered in all directions at least twelve hours before Colonel Brown and his Charter braves entered the village with fife and drum, to disturb the cows grazing in the pastures of Chepachet, to meet a cold reception by the people of Gloucester, who in the main were Dorrites, or sympathizers with the People's cause.

"The King of France with twenty thousand men
Marched up the hill and then—marched down again."

So did the courageous and valorous troops who were suddenly inspired with courage after they had found that Dorr had thrown down his sword and fled the State.

Governor King offered a reward of five thousand dollars for the delivery of Thomas Wilson Dorr to the sheriffs of Rhode Island within three months; martial law was proclaimed throughout the State; indiscriminate arrests were made and a reign of terror prevailed. No man suspected of Dorr sympathies was safe from seizure by the officers of the law, who used little discretion in their wholesale acts of petty tyranny and hatred, and there is not the shadow of justification of the malevolent persecution of the members of the People's party, by the Algerine officers of the law. Dorr was politically dead, as was his party. The People's Constitution was also a corpse, awaiting burial. The just course was to pardon all political offenders and to treat the members of the defeated political party with clemency, but party spirit ran so high and the passions of men had been so aroused, that a spirit of revenge ruled camp and court, and safety for many men and families was only found in Massachusetts or Connecticut. Governor Dorr, broken in his hopes, and deserted by his followers, took refuge in New Hampshire until October 31, 1843, when he returned to Providence, was immediately arrested and lodged in the Providence jail, where he remained until his trial for the crime of treason against the State of Rhode Island, before the Supreme Court, sitting at Newport, February 29, 1844. At two o'clock a. m., on May 7, 1844, the jury brought in a verdict of "guilty of treason" against Governor Dorr; a motion for a new trial was entered, arguments were heard, and on June 25, the Supreme Court, having denied the request, pronounced the following sentence: "That the said Thomas Wilson Dorr be imprisoned in the State Prison at Providence, for the term of his natural life and

there kept at hard labor in separate confinement." It is difficult to repress profane adjectives in reading the sentence pronounced by Chief Justice Durfee, and it must be acknowledged that our respect for men administering justice in our courts is not strengthened by a sentence which carried with it the temper and the methods of the Inquisition. Twenty years later, President Jefferson Davis, and General R. E. Lee, and hundreds of thousands of Confederate soldiers, who fought for four long years to destroy the best government under the sun, costing rivers of blood and oceans of money, were never adjudged guilty of any crime—one only suffered confinement, and that for a brief period as a military prisoner at Fortress Monroe, with comforts and luxuries he had not known since he undertook the task of destroying the American Union.

It is not strange that sympathy for Governor Dorr as a martyr in a just cause was aroused by his trial and sentence, in the minds of all fair-minded men of both parties in Rhode Island. The old loyalty to the Governor was awakened, and even the Charter party recognized the unfairness of the methods used in his trial. In January, 1845, an Act of Amnesty passed the General Assembly, provided Governor Dorr would make oath of allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the State, which he refused to do. At the April election, Charles Jackson, the liberation candidate for governor, was elected over James Fenner, the Law and Order candidate and then governor, and by an Act of the General Assembly at the June session at Newport, Governor Dorr was made a free man, on the 27th of June, 1845, just one year from the day that the doors of the State Prison at Providence closed on him, in 1844. Governor Dorr was unconditionally restored to his civil rights in 1851, and three years later the General Assembly invaded the sacred precincts of judicial decisions and decreed, "That the judgment against Thomas Wilson Dorr be hereby repealed, reversed, annulled and declared to be as if it had never been rendered." The Clerk of the Supreme Court for the County of Newport was ordered "to write across the face of the record of said judgment the words 'Reversed and Annulled by order of the General Assembly at their January Session, A. D., 1854.'" The Act passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 39 to 18. Governor Dorr, broken in health, worn out in mind and body in defence of the rights of the people, vindicated as far as the popular voice and the General Assembly could do it, survived the remarkable Act of the State Legislature but ten months, and on December 27, 1854, he died in the Dorr mansion, on Benefit street, Providence, where he first opened his eyes to the light 49 years, 1 month and 22 days before. He lived to see the adoption of a State Constitution, more liberal in some important respects than the

People's. The word "white" did not appear. The property qualification for voting on matters relating to taxation or the expenditure of moneys was practically the same: the registry tax did not appear in the People's, while it did in the Constitution of 1843, under which we have lived for 70 years. From present evidence it appears that the Convention of 1843 aimed to incorporate in the new State paper, as far as practicable, all that the People's party had demanded. Its framers had certainly seen the handwriting on the wall which proclaimed the doom of the Freeman's party and the incoming of a liberal and progressive government.

The length of this chapter forbids a review of Governor Dorr's character and life, or of a consideration of the legal and constitutional questions involved in the several phases of the Dorr Revolution. It only remains for me to state a few of the leading characteristics of the man and of his career.

Let me allow his most bitter and stoutest enemy, Hon. Henry B. Anthony, the editor of the *Providence Journal*, to pronounce his most eloquent eulogium. "He was a man endowed with intellectual powers, which had they been rightly directed, would have secured him commanding influence. Those powers, too, were disciplined by an education more accomplished perhaps than any other man of his age in Rhode Island had been privileged to obtain. As a man of science and letters, he might have attained honorable distinction, had he chosen to dedicate his time to science or to letters. As a statesman he might have rendered his native State substantial service. He might have been a true-hearted, private gentleman, honored by the respect and confidence of the community in which he resided."

A similar eulogium was pronounced on Wendell Phillips and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, who might have been great in so many departments of service, but who chose the cause of the oppressed, and, in losing their lives, saved them. Governor Dorr might have been a leader in the Freeman's party, or achieved other honors as Governor Anthony honestly declared, but he chose the path Difficulty in the name and for the sake of the great body of unrecognized men, whose rights had been so long refused by the rulers of the State. He counted the probable cost of the struggle, but he withheld no sacrifice, even though at the end he was despised and rejected by his own followers, and finally adjudged a traitor to his native state.

Governor Dorr was, above all, a Christian statesman, recognizing that higher law, superior to human, to which men, institutions and constitutions must ultimately yield obedience. In proof, let me quote Dorr's definition of *The Doctrine of Sovereignty*:

There is One over all, God blessed forever; and under him the People are sovereign. His Revealed Word is the higher law, to whose principles and rules of action recourse is had by the framers of Constitutions & by legislators, to impart justice and equity to political institutions. The application of these principles & rules to the Constitutions and legislative acts of States, and to men in their political relations, is what has been called the democracy of Christianity. Rights are the gift of God. The definition and protection of them are the objects of just government.

Providence, R. I., Aug. 10th, 1853.

THO'S. W. DORR.

Eighty years ago, no citizen of this commonwealth was a freeman and had a share in the affairs of State, unless he was owner in fee simple of real estate. We were a landed aristocracy, masquerading as a democracy. To-day all males are titled freemen, with the single exception of the registry voter, an anomaly in a free State and, pray God, soon to be expunged from the statutes of a sovereign people of a sovereign state. In the midst of many eminent men of the century struggles, Thomas Wilson Dorr stands preëminent as leader and expounder of the doctrine of human rights. Of senatorial rank, he fought the plebeian battle. His war-cry was "*The Right of Suffrage is the Guardian of our Liberties.*" In the success of the people's contest, Dorr *never lost heart or hope*. In the darkest hour of his life, on trial before a court, from which he could expect naught but the extortion of "*the pound of flesh,*" deserted by his party, an alien to many of his family circle, the victim of implacable enmities, personal, political and judicial, about to receive sentence *for life*, for the most detestable crime known among civilized men—TREASON—Thomas Wilson Dorr stands erect in the nobility of an enfranchised manhood and declares to a hostile court and a cordon of officials, representing a merciless public, and utters the grand words of *innocent confession*, now writ in imperishable bronze on yonder tablet, "*I stand before you, with the greatest confidence in the final verdict of my country.*" *Brave soul*, you wrote your own sublime epitaph. By your attitude and words you won a place among Earth's immortals, *who lived to die, and died to live* for the common people, downtrodden and enslaved. Among them are Abraham Lincoln and John Brown and Charles Sumner and William Lloyd Garrison and Ulysses S. Grant and Joseph Warren and George Washington and Robert Emmett and Marco Bozzaris and William of Orange and Harry Vane and Duke of Argyle and Martin Luther and Savonarola and Socrates and Paul, all leading *up to* and *followers* of the matchless man of Nazareth.

The State of Rhode Island has set its enduring seal of approbation on the public acts of Governor Thomas Wilson Dorr, and through her

Executive received and adopted the dedication and verdict of our twentieth century public. Acote's Hill, the scene of Dorr's final civic defeat, became the centre of his public recognition and exaltation, and hill and monument will forever testify to the ready homage of the people for men, who *Dare to Do Right!*

In my mind's eye I have another vision, the year is 1942, the place, the west front of the Capitol, on Capitol Hill, Providence. Two colossal statues stand on marble pediments on either side of the marble stairway. The one on the left, as you approach is the figure of the great diplomat-statesman, author of the Royal Charter of 1663—the most comprehensive chart of free government ever drawn by mortal man—that man is Dr. John Clarke of Newport. On the right stands the bronze figure of human rights as incorporated in that ancient instrument, the Royal Charter, presenting and representing the great Commoner of Rhode Island, not as a debater of privilege, not as the leader of a forlorn hope, but as the triumphal victor in the conquest of Truth over enthroned Falsehood, and of enfranchised Liberty—for all men and women, in a Republic, small in area, but great in principle—that colossal figure shall bear on its shining shield the name of THOMAS WILSON DORR.

"We tell thy Doom without a sigh,
For thou art Freedom's now, and Fame's;
One of the few, immortal names,
That were not born to die."

"For humanity sweeps onward;
Where to-day the martyr stands
On the morrow crouches Judas,
With the gold dust in his hands;

While the hooting mob of yesterday
In silent awe returns
To glean the sacred ashes,
For history's golden urn."



CHAPTER XXXVII

THE CIVIL WAR



OLD ARSENAL, BENEFIT STREET

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THE CIVIL WAR.

On Friday, April 12, 1861, at 4.20 o'clock in the morning, Brig.-Gen. Pierre G. T. Beauregard, commanding the Confederate batteries in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, fired the first gun of the Civil War. The shot, from a mortar on Sullivan's Island, struck Fort Sumter, then in possession of United States troops under command of Major Robert Anderson. This event was the first overt act against the Federal government, and opened the great interstate contest in arms known in history as the Civil War. This war of armed forces of the Federal and Confederate States ended on Sunday, April 9, 1865, at Appomattox Court House, Virginia, when Maj.-Gen. Robert E. Lee, commanding the Confederate armies, surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Lieut.-Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, commander-in-chief of the armies of the Federal States.

Prior to the war, a long social and civil contest had existed as to the perpetuation and extension of the institution of chattel slavery within the Federal Union, under the protection of the constitution and laws of the United States. The issue of the extension of negro slavery was made by the organization of the Republican party in 1856. Its platform declared positively against the creation of any new slaveholding territory, with the gradual extinction of slavery in slaveholding States, while the growing Abolition party advocated and worked for its speedy removal from all the Slavery States. The large popular vote for John C. Frémont for President in 1856 was a revelation to the country of the judgment of the electors. Rhode Island gave Frémont, Republican, 11,647 votes; Buchanan, Democrat, 6,680 votes; and Fillmore, American, 1,675. In the Electoral College, Buchanan received 174 votes to 114 for Frémont.

The Dred Scott case, on the other hand, revealed what seemed the impotency of the Federal constitution, in that the Supreme Court of the United States decided that a slave was not a citizen, had no standing in the courts, and was only property under the same protection as any other personal property. At the same time, every slave was counted as three-fifths of a man by Art. I, Sec. 2, of the United States Constitution. This decision aroused the anti-slavery forces to action to avert the dangers consequent on such a verdict.

In furtherance of the purposes of the slave-holding States, now virtually in control of the Federal government, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed by both Houses of Congress, and made a law by the signature

of James Buchanan, President of the United States, and the subject tool of the Slave States. This Bill repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which forbade forever the opening to slavery any of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30'. By it the great territories of Kansas and Nebraska were opened to the entrance of slavery, and the Slave States at once began a migration and a propaganda for creating two Slave States north of Mason and Dixon's line. The war was now on between the anti-slavery and the slavery forces of the nation, and blood was shed and violence held sway in Kansas and Nebraska and all along their eastern borders. The administration of James Buchanan was a shameless submission of executive authority to the slave powers of the Southern States, and it is not strange that the Free States of the North became alarmed and aroused to avert the threatening encroachments on Federal guarantees of freedom and true Democracy. Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," Helper's "Impending Crisis," Seward's "Irrepressible Conflict," Sumner's burning arraignment of the "Crimes of the Slave Oligarchy," and John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry, were agents of awakening the conscience, the intelligence and the will of the North to curb the slave power. At the same time they widened the breach between the North and the South, and stirred the hot blood of the defenders of slavery to threaten the disunion of the States, and to advocate it openly in our National Congress.

In November, 1860, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, Republican, was elected President of the United States, receiving 180 electoral votes against 72 for John C. Breckenbridge, candidate of the Southern Democrats; 39 for John Bell, Constitutional Union; and 12 for Stephen A. Douglas, Northern Democrat. Within thirty days of the presidential election of 1860, constructive secession from the Federal Union began, its treasonable content enveloped in the specious doctrine of States rights, as maintained by John C. Calhoun and his school. The State of South Carolina, the home of Calhoun, led the way in the procession of would-be-outgoing States by a yea vote in its convention of 169, with not a single negative voice, on the 20th of December, 1860. Alabama, Florida and Louisiana followed in the same month; Georgia voted to secede on January 9, 1861, by a vote of 208 yeas to 89 nays; then came Mississippi, 84 to 15, and Texas, 166 to 7. Virginia, as late as April 4, by a vote of 89 to 45, voted *not* to secede; and Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware followed Virginia's example, and on February 4, when a convention of States endorsing secession met at Montgomery, Alabama, seven States united in the movement, while eight slave-holding States and the District of Columbia refused to enter the coalition at that time.

On March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated as President of thirty-four States in the Federal Union. In his inaugural address he said, "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine is the momentous issue of Civil War. The Government will not assail you. * * * We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection." To an eloquent plea for deliberation and the exercise of intelligence, patriotism and Christian forbearance, Mr. Lincoln added the statesman's conception of the Union of States as *indissoluble*. "*Secession*," he said, "*is not the dissolution of a league, but a treasonable though futile effort to disorganize and destroy a nation.*"

The seven rebellious States that had adopted acts of secession in convention in Alabama, in February, organized under the title of "*The Confederate States of America*," and elected Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, as Provisional President. The first overt act of revolution of this Confederacy was the bombardment of Fort Sumter, on April 12, 1861, and its surrender after a thirty hours' siege. By that attack the Civil War was inaugurated. On both sides of the issue it was confidently predicted that the contest would be brief. The South was confident of winning in a few months, on the assumption that the "Yanks" (as the Northerners were contemptuously called) would not fight; while Mr. Seward, Secretary of State in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, deliberately declared that the war would end in ninety days. In answer to the challenge of war, President Lincoln, on the 15th of April, issued a call to the States for seventy-five thousand men to serve three months, to quell the treasonable spirit and acts of the Confederate States.

While all of the Northern States responded promptly to the call, Rhode Island was among the first to send a regiment of men to Washington, under the command of Col. Ambrose E. Burnside and Lieut.-Col. Joseph S. Pitman. This State was most fortunate in a War Governor, who was young, inspired with a deep patriotism, and withal wealthy, ready to advance funds from his own purse for war purposes and to volunteer his own services to the country at the war front. For such unstinted contributions to the State and Nation in the hour of greatest peril, the name of William Sprague will stand among the first on the roll of honor of Rhode Island worthies.

The First Rhode Island Regiment left Providence on the 20th of April, and on the arrival of the two detachments at Washington a few days later, the regiment entered on army drill at Camp Sprague, near the city. On the 10th of June the regiment marched to Williamsport, Maryland, to join other forces to dislodge the rebels under Gen. Joseph E. Johnson, from Harper's Ferry. On the evacuation of Harper's Ferry by

the Confederates, the regiment returned to camp, June 20, without seeing the forces of the enemy.

Early in July, Union forces had arrived at Washington in numbers sufficient to warrant a forward movement to meet the Confederates gathering at Manassas and threatening the National Capital. On the 16th of July the Union Army, made up of 35,000 men, eleven batteries of artillery and four companies of cavalry, crossed the Potomac and moved southward to meet the enemy. While the troops were in camp at Washington, Col. Burnside had been promoted to the command of a brigade comprising four regiments, including the First Rhode Island and one battery. The Union Army of brave but undisciplined and unseasoned men, met the Confederate Army of equally brave and undisciplined men, in battle array at Manassas, Virginia, thirty miles southwest of Washington, on Sunday, July 21, 1861. Here was fought the first bloody battle of the Civil War, known as the battle of Bull Run. The Union army was under the command of Gen. Irwin McDowell, directed from Washington by Lieut.-Gen. Winfield Scott. The Confederates were under the command of Gen. James Longstreet. After a day's hard fighting, in which Burnside's brigade had borne a generous share, the Union troops, unsupported by reserves and unable to meet the fresh soldiers of the rebel army, gave way in a general retreat, which terminated in a disastrous panic.

The Second Regiment of Rhode Island Volunteers, enlisted for three years or the war, which left Providence on June 19, 1861, under command of Col. John S. Slocum, with Lieut.-Col. Frank Wheaton, and Maj. Sullivan Ballou, was one of the four regiments in Col. Burnside's brigade, and marched to the battle front at Bull Run, leading the column. Battery A, First Rhode Island Light Artillery, under command of Capt. William H. Reynolds, under Burnside, was ordered to open the attack on the right, continuing the fire for forty-five minutes without support. Capt. Reynolds fought with great vigor and effect, losing two men killed and fourteen wounded. Lieut. W. B. Weeden had a horse shot under him. One gun, being out of ammunition, was sent to the rear, was saved and later presented to Governor Sprague, and by him to the State. This gun, with another from the Gettysburg battlefield, with a ball wedged in the muzzle, are preserved as memorials of the war in the capitol at Providence. The Second Rhode Island suffered severely, losing 28 killed, 56 wounded and 30 missing. Among the slain were Col. Slocum, Maj. Ballou, and Capt. Levi A. Tower and Samuel J. Smith. Governor Sprague was on the field all day, and had two horses shot under him. Of the First Rhode Island Regiment, Lieut. Henry A. Prescott fell, leading his men in battle. This regiment, its term of enlistment having expired, re-

turned to Providence, Sunday, July 28, and was mustered out on August 2. Many of the men enlisted in later regiments for the war. Chaplains Rev. Augustus Woodbury, Rev. Thomas Quinn and Surgeon Francis L. Wheaton, were efficient officers in instructing and encouraging the men, in camp, hospital, and on the field of action. The only engagement of this regiment was in Burnside's brigade, in the battle of Bull Run, Sunday, July 21, 1861. High honors should be accorded to all the men of the First Rhode Island Regiment of Volunteers for prompt action in reply to their country's call in the hour of its great peril. It was the answer of untrained citizen militia to stand in the breach until a body of trained and disciplined men should take their places. The service was brief, but vital in the defence of the Capitol and the Nation.

The Second Regiment Rhode Island Volunteers reached Washington, June 23, 1861, and was mustered out of the United States service at Hall's Hill, Virginia, July 13, 1865. Its first colonel, John S. Slocum, was an officer of great courage, who had gained a reputation as a good soldier in the Mexican War. He was promoted from the rank of major in the First Rhode Island Regiment to the command of the Second Regiment. This regiment rendered brilliant service in the battle of Bull Run, where it lost about fifteen per cent. of its men, including four chief officers. On the death of Col. Slocum, the command fell to Lieut.-Col. Frank Wheaton, and after his promotion to the command of a brigade, it devolved on Nelson Viall and last on Horatio Rogers, Jr. Frank Wheaton, W. H. P. Steere, Nelson Viall, Nathan Goff, Jr., Samuel B. M. Read and Elisha H. Rhodes held the office of lieutenant-colonel in the order named.

The regiment was assigned to the Army of the Potomac, with which it remained during the war. The battles in which it bore a conspicuous and valorous part were inscribed on the colors, as follows: First Bull Run, Yorktown, Williamsburg, Malvern Hill, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Marye's Heights, Salem Heights, Gettysburg, Rappahannock Station, Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Fort Stevens, Opequan, Hatcher's Run, Sailor's Creek, Appomattox.

Maj. Henry H. Young, chief of scouts to Maj.-Gen. Sheridan, whose statue in bronze has been erected in the park in front of the railroad station at Providence, was an officer of this regiment. By general consent, the Second Rhode Island was accorded first rank for efficiency, endurance, courage and brilliant deeds.

The Fourth Regiment arrived at Washington, October 7, 1861, and was mustered out at Providence, October 15, 1864. The total number of men enrolled was 1035; killed and died of wounds, 72; other deaths, 65. Its colonels were Isaac P. Rodman, who was killed by a musket ball at

the battle of Antietam, and William H. P. Steere, who was wounded in the same fight. The services of the Fourth were chiefly in North Carolina under Gen. Burnside, and in Virginia in the Army of the Potomac. The battlefields inscribed on the colors of this fine organization were Fredericksburg, Roanoke Island, Newbern, Fort Macon, South Mountain, Antietam, Suffolk, Weldon Railroad, Poplar Spring Church, Hatcher's Run.

The Seventh Regiment, recruited mainly by the energetic services of Welcome B. Sayles, arrived at Washington for service September 12, 1862, under the command of Col. Zenas R. Bliss, an accomplished United States army officer. This body was joined to the Army of the Potomac, and its first battle was the ill-fated, sanguinary contest of Fredericksburg, where the Seventh exhibited the most unflinching bravery, at the cost of 31 killed and 122 wounded. Lieut.-Col. Sayles was killed by a shell, and Maj. Jacob Babbitt, of Bristol, was mortally wounded. The regiment was mustered out after the Grand Review at Washington, at Alexandria, Virginia, on June 9, 1865, returning with 350 men and 20 officers. Its colors bore the names of Fredericksburg, Siege of Vicksburg, Jackson, Spottsylvania, North Anna, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Weldon Railroad, Poplar Spring Church, Hatcher's Run. The story of the Seventh is one of gallant deeds and great achievements under able officers.

Prior to May, 1862, the Rhode Island National Guard had been organized as a reserve from which the State and National governments could draw, at short notice, in any time of special need. Such an occasion came in May, 1862, when the Confederate forces threatened the National Capital, when Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson made a sudden raid down the Shenandoah Valley, routing the Army of Gen. Banks at Winchester, with the possible intent of a thrust on Washington. Governor Sprague received an emergency call for a volunteer regiment for three months service at Washington, at midnight of May 25, 1862, and before sunrise the call had been satisfied, and on the 27th the Ninth Regiment left Providence for the Capital, under command of Col. John T. Pitman. At the same time, troops were pouring into Washington from all the States, the safety of the Capital was assured, and the Ninth, with other regiments, crossed the Potomac as if to assist, as a reserve, to the Army of the Potomac, then threatening an attack on Richmond. The plans of Gen. McClellan on Richmond were abandoned, and the Ninth, after a war vacation of three months, returned to Providence, and officers and men were mustered out September 2, 1862. The Ninth possessed the fighting spirit, but failed of an opportunity to exercise it.

The Tenth Regiment was also an emergency force for the defence of the Capital. Its experiences and services were similar and cotempor-



STATE ARMORY

aneous with those of the Ninth, under the commands of Cols. Zenas R. Bliss and James Shaw, Jr. Jacob Babbitt was major; John F. Tobey, adjutant; James H. Armington, quartermaster; and Rev. A. H. Clapp, D. D., chaplain. The regiment was well qualified to fight, but did not have a fighting chance. It was mustered out at Providence, September 1, 1862.

The first year of the Civil War was heartening to the Confederate and disheartening to the Union army. Its history had been one of defeat and checkmate, and the North had been made aware of the fact that Confederates could and would put up a great conflict in arms. What the North supposed was to be a short war had now proceeded a twelve-month, with the Union army defending the National Capital. But disappointment was not discouragement, but rather an incitement to more vigorous action, with greater armies in the field, under better generalship. The testing time of officers and soldiers was on and the determination to win in the finals for constitutional freedom was more strongly felt and expressed than it had ever been. On the 4th of August, 1862, President Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 men to serve for nine months, to which Rhode Island men responded promptly. This State was called to enlist two regiments, the Eleventh and Twelfth. The ranks of the Eleventh were filled on the 23rd of September, 1862, it was mustered in October 1, and arrived in Washington on the 8th, under command of Col. Edwin Metcalf. The Eleventh was assigned to Gen. Cowdin's brigade as a guard to the convalescent camp near Washington. Its whole term was occupied in guard and picket duty, never being called into action, although several times it was in line of battle. The regiment was one of observation of war rather than of actual participation in active fighting. At the expiration of its term of enlistment, the Eleventh returned home and was mustered out at Providence, July 13, 1863. Its colonels in command were Edwin Metcalf, Horatio Rogers, Jr., and George E. Church; its lieutenant-colonel, J. Talbot Pitman; Nathan F. Moss, its major; Robert Fessenden, adjutant; Henry S. Olney, quartermaster; Thomas W. Perry, surgeon; and John B. Gould, chaplain.

The Twelfth Rhode Island, under command of Col. George H. Browne, was appointed to severe trials at the battle of Fredericksburg, December 12-13, 1863. The courage, fidelity and endurance of the men were put to the severest tests in this terrible contest and the roll-call showed 109 men killed and wounded, and 95 missing. The ordeal was severe but Col. Browne and his men served as veterans, although this battle was only sixty days away from quiet civilian life and duties. At one time in this battle, Col. Browne was left alone without the aid of a single field officer.

When Gen. Burnside was assigned to the Department of the Ohio, he made request that the Twelfth Rhode Island should go with him, as it did, doing duty in Kentucky and Tennessee, showing the same grit and stamina as at Gettysburg. Its term of service expired in July and was mustered out on the 29th with 800 men to answer roll-call. The staff officers of the Twelfth Rhode Island were: George H. Brown, colonel; James Shaw, Jr., lieutenant-colonel; Cyrus G. Dyer, major; John Turner, Oscar Lapham and Matthew N. Chappell, adjutants; John L. Clarke, quartermaster; Benoni Carpenter, surgeon; and Samuel W. Field, chaplain. The Twelfth was entitled to the inscription of Fredericksburg on its colors.

While many thousands of Rhode Island men served their country cheerfully and bravely, due credit must also be given to the cavalry and light and heavy artillery regiments, which constituted an important factor in the land forces of the nation. The two arms of offensive war were constantly in service—the former in scout duty, in reconnoissance and in flank and rear action, while the latter was in the forefront of every engagement, in effective and often most hazardous service.

The First Rhode Island Cavalry was organized in the autumn of 1861, and placed under Col. George W. Hallett, who was later made chief of cavalry in Rhode Island. On March 12, 1862, the regiment under Maj. William Sanford, entrained for Washington and was later attached to the Fifth Army Corps, and its whole term of service, until August, 1865, was in the Army of the Potomac. The command was under Robert B. Lawton and Alfred N. Duffie, colonels; and Willard Sayles and John A. Thompson, lieutenant-colonels. The regimental story is a thrilling one, and well illustrates the best of human courage, daring and suffering in battle, in camp life or in prisons of the enemy. In "Sabres and Spurs," the history of the First Rhode Island Cavalry is well told by Chaplain Frederick Denison. Its operations extended from the Valley of the Shenandoah down the Peninsula to the neighborhood of Richmond, its final duty being to parole the men of Gen. Lee's army, after his surrender to Gen. Grant, 1865.

The Second Regiment of Cavalry, under Lieut.-Col. Augustus W. Corliss, entered service in January, 1863, and took part in the first advance on Port Hudson, under General N. P. Banks, in March, 1863. Here the regiment was engaged in scout and forage duties. The regiment was later engaged in several sharp fights in the Mississippi district. In September, an attempt was made to subordinate the regiment to the First Louisiana Cavalry, which was resisted by officers and men, with the result that in January, 1864, it was merged in the Third Rhode Island Cavalry, on the arrival of that regiment in New Orleans. After the union

of the two regiments under the command of Col. Willard Sayles and Lieut.-Col. Charles Parkhurst, the Red River expedition was entered on, and from March, 1864, to November, 1865, the reconstructed Third was occupied in the service of the Department of the Gulf, much of the time in guerilla and picket skirmishes, with no important engagement—a most trying and perplexing work for a brave soldier fitted for strenuous and open warfare. The regimental historian states truly: "It was not a field or service attractive to men ambitious of military glory, but was none the less important as a feature of the great plan of subduing the rebellion; and the part taken therein by the Third Rhode Island Cavalry has given it a record honorable to itself and to the State it represented."

The Third Regiment Rhode Island Heavy Artillery entered its distinguished career in August, 1861, and continued in service until mustered out in August, 1865—nearly the whole period of the war. Its successive colonels were Nathaniel W. Brown, Edwin Metcalf, and Charles R. Brayton. Christopher Blanding, Henry T. Sisson, Horatio Rogers, Jr., and William Ames were majors for various periods; Ames was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. The several companies of this regiment were scattered over many States, and served as light or heavy artillery or upon armed transports, as circumstances demanded. The principal field of its service was in the Department of the South, under the command successively of Gens. Thomas W. Sherman, David Hunter, Ormsby M. Mitchell, Quincy A. Gilmore and John F. Foster, against Gens. Lee, Pemberton and Beauregard of the Confederates. Number of men enrolled 1723, number reënlisted men 300, total 2023; number killed 39, died of wounds 17, died of diseases 77, total 133; number wounded 80, discharged for disability 269.

By orders of Gen. Grant the names of the following sieges and battles in which the regiment was engaged were: Fort Pulaski, Secessionville, Pocotaligo, Morris Island, Fort Sumter, Fort Wagner, Olustee, Drewry's Bluffs, Laurel Hill, Honey Hill, Deveaux Neck, Fort Burnham, Petersburg.

The Fifth Regiment Heavy Artillery, under command of Col. Henry T. Sisson, achieved equal honors for valorous action as did the Third. Its term of service began January, 1862, and it was mustered out at New Berne, North Carolina, June 26, 1865. The whole period was spent in North Carolina, and it participated in the following principal engagements: Roanoke Island, New Berne, Fort Macon (siege), Pawle's Mill, New Berne, Kinston, Whitehall, Goldsboro, Little Washington (siege), New Berne (siege).

The Fourteenth Regiment of Heavy Artillery was made up of negroes, with white officers. Governor James Y. Smith heartily favored

the plan of such an organization. The enlistments were so prompt that, from the original plan of a single company, a whole regiment came into being. Col. Nelson Viall prepared the regiment for the field, and was not only a capable officer but had faith that a negro would make an efficient soldier. Col. Viall was an enthusiastic worker and under his instruction and inspiration the men made rapid progress in military evolutions. The first battalion of four companies left Providence on December 19, 1863, and made camp at Matagorda Island, Texas, January 8, 1864. Maj.-Gen. Dana, commander of the Union forces in Texas, visited the negro battalion to find a body of men of "soldier-like conduct, excellent in condition and bearing." He reported that "such discipline and order reflect great credit" on officers and men. The staff officers were: Jacob H. Sypher, colonel; Nelson Viall, lieutenant-colonel; Joseph J. Comstock, major; Joseph C. Whitney, Jr., adjutant; John B. Pierce, quartermaster; and Benoni Carpenter, surgeon. Among the captains were Joshua M. Addeman, Phannel E. Bishop, George Bucklin and H. K. Southwick. This regiment was called largely to garrison duty in the South. In February, 1865, the Fourteenth numbered 1452. Up to that date 300 had died. As the regiment was not called into action, its losses were only by disease. Their record as faithful men and good soldiers was well established among military men, high in command, honoring their State during their two years of service, thereby paying just tribute to Governor Smith, who had called them into patriotic service.

In addition to the forces already named, Rhode Island manned and equipped the First Regiment of Light Artillery, of which Battery A was mustered in June 6, 1861, which, under command of Capt. William H. Reynolds, opened the attack on the Confederates at the battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861. The battery lost all its guns but one, and had two men killed and fourteen wounded. In August, 1861, Batteries A, B and C were formed into a battalion under command of Maj. Charles H. Tompkins, and in September this organization took regimental form under Col. Tompkins. In the three years of service of this organization, it saw active warfare at Bolivar Heights, the Peninsula, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Marye's Heights, Gettysburg, Bristoe, Station, Mine Run, Morton's Ford, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania Court House, North Anna and Petersburg.

Battery B, Rhode Island Artillery, 140 officers and men, left Providence, August 14, 1861, and, at Washington, was assigned to the Army of the Potomac. This battery won great distinction in its four years of service from Ball's Bluff in 1861 to the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee, in April, 1865. Gen. Meade ordered the names of nineteen battlefields inscribed on its colors, among them being Malvern Hill, Antietam, Fred-

ericksburg, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, North Anna and Petersburg. At Gettysburg, Battery B, now including Battery A, the casualties were seven men killed, three officers and 32 men wounded, 65 horses killed or wounded, and all its guns rendered useless by rapid fire. One gun, with a ball in its muzzle, disabled at Gettysburg, is now in the State Capitol, at Providence.

Battery C fought in the greatest battles in which the Army of the Potomac was engaged from Yorktown to Cedar Creek, and its losses in men and horses were large. Gen. Meade testified to its valiant and meritorious conduct by ordering the names of eighteen battles inscribed on its colors. Battery C was in the engagement which has been immortalized in Sheridan's Famous Ride.

The other batteries from Rhode Island mustered in in 1861 and 1862, named respectively D, E, F, G and H, were in active service almost constantly in connection with the Army of the Potomac, and suffered or enjoyed the varying vicissitudes of defeat or victory that came to the corps in which it served.

It is not too much to say that Rhode Island men in artillery and cavalry service were standards of military efficiency in the Union army. These branches of service attracted the choicest of our yeomanry. Many of the officers and men had been members of militia companies where discipline and a fair knowledge of the manual of arms and military tactics were the personal qualifications of all the men in the ranks. Acquaintance and comradeship were valuable assets in battery, battalion and regimental organization. Solidarity of camp life, as well as unanimity in action, came from mutual goodfellowship. Soldier and officer were at one in the tent, the mess, and on the field of action. Our little State really made herself great, and won special renown on account of a military brotherhood, led by their own chosen and beloved leaders. Maj.-Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside was the military idol of all Rhode Island soldiers. In defeat or in victory, all worshipped him as an honest, brave and true leader, whom they could always trust. It was Gen. Burnside who set the standard for the Rhode Island soldier, in all departments of the service. Governor William Sprague was also an idol of the Rhode Island soldier boys, in the camp or on the field. His youth, patriotism, generosity and bravery amounting to daring, conspired to elevate Governor Sprague to the zenith of personal and popular favor. Rhode Island men saw in their Governor a Richard Coeur de Leon in chivalry, a young Napoleon in war and in finance. The Governor honestly confessed that he was "scared" in the Bull Run fight, and he thought all the rest of the troops were, but he did his best to act the part of a brave man, and succeeded so well that he won the reputation of an absolutely fearless leader

—a kind of man that even cowards admire. Rev. Augustus Woodbury, chaplain, soldier, historian, was another of Rhode Island's worthies whom all the men of the State loved, honored, worshipped. "The King can do no wrong"—neither could Chaplain Woodbury. These three men, though localized in personal work, were generalized before and by all branches of Rhode Island soldiers. They were the standard bearers to whom, directly or indirectly, the infantry, cavalry and artillery were responsive, and who wrought a martial idealism in the mind and heart of most of the State's Union soldiery—a condition non-existent in any other body of troops from any other State or section. The staff officers of the regiments were, as a rule, men whose appointments were won on personal merit. Real military efficiency is not measured by money values, and the commands were worthy of the confidence reposed in them. It seems almost invidious to select a few names from many as illustrative of the fine quality of manhood of the officers of Rhode Island soldiers and sailors in the Civil War,—successors of Greene and Varnum and Barton, in land service, and of Hopkins and Perry on the sea, but a few names warrant such reference.

Our two Governors in the Civil War were William Sprague and James Y. Smith, men of the sturdiest character and most unquestionable patriotism. The lieutenant-governors were of the same type of citizenship in Samuel G. Arnold and Seth Padelford. Our Senators in the United States Congress were James Y. Simmons, William Sprague and Henry B. Anthony, while our Representatives were William P. Sheffield, George H. Browne, Thomas A. Jenckes and Nathan F. Dixon—true patriots all.

While the regimental histories and biographies will preserve and perpetuate the names and worthy deeds of most of the chief actors of the Rhode Island groups, our review in general must note the names of Col. Ambrose E. Burnside, who rapidly rose by real merit to the rank of major-general; Governors William Sprague and James Y. Smith; Col. Joseph S. Pitman, Col. John S. Slocum, Col. Henry T. Sisson, Chaplain Augustus Woodbury, Col. Frank Wheaton, Col. Nelson Viall, Col. Horatio Rogers, Jr., Col. Elisha H. Rhodes, Maj. Sullivan Ballou, Gen. Nathan Goff, Jr., Lieut.-Col. Henry H. Young, Brig.-Gen. W. H. P. Steere, Maj. Thorndike C. Jameson, Surgeon F. L. Wheaton, Gen. Isaac P. Rodman, Capt. Levi Tower, Brig.-Gen. Frank Wheaton, Lieut.-Col. George W. Tew, Col. Zenas R. Bliss, Col. W. B. Sayles, Col. George E. Church, Maj. Jacob Babbitt, Adj. Charles H. Page, Col. John T. Pitman, Lieut.-Col. John Hare Powell, Maj. George Lewis Cooke, Col. James Shaw, Jr., Capt. Walter A. Read, Adj. John F. Tobey, Chaplain, Rev. A. Huntington Clapp, Capt. George N. Bliss, Capt. Charles H. Parkhurst,

Capt. Joseph H. Kendrick, Capt. William A. Mowry, Capt. Samuel Thurber, Capt. James T. Edwards, Col. George H. Browne, Adj. Oscar Lapham, Surgeon Benoni Carpenter, Chaplain Samuel W. Field, Col. Christopher Blanding, Capt. George F. Bicknell, Capt. Joshua M. Addeman, Brig.-Gen. Joseph P. Balch, Bvt.-Col. Martin P. Buffum, Bvt.-Lieut.-Col. William Goddard, Col. S. B. M. Read, Corp. Thomas Parker, Capt. James S. Smith, Lieut. Henry A. Prescott, Lieut. Robert H. Ives, Jr., Col. Willard Sayles, Maj. Raymond H. Perry, Col. Willard Sayles, Col. Edwin Metcalf, Gen. Charles R. Brayton, Bvt.-Brig.-Gen. William Ames, Capt. George L. Smith, Lieut.-Col. Job Arnold, Bvt.-Maj.-Gen. Richard Arnold, Bvt.-Maj.-Gen. Silas Casey, Bvt.-Maj.-Gen. Thomas W. Sherman, Maj.-Gen. David H. Vinton, Col. U. S. A. William H. Walcott, Brig.-Gen. Robert C. Wood, Lieut.-Col. Benj. F. Bucklin, Capt. Charles W. Abbott, Rear Admiral John J. Almy, Asst. Engineer Robert H. Thurston, Lieut.-Com. Benjamin F. Tilley, Commodore William R. Taylor, Lieut. Ezra K. Parker, Lieut. Daniel R. Ballou.

The Adjutant General's Report, in two quarto volumes, published in 1895, gives the roster of the regiments, batteries, negro troops, and enlisted men in the United States Army and Navy in the Civil War. This report gives the name, date of enrollment, dates of mustering in and mustering out, promotions, transfers, of all soldiers and sailors from Rhode Island in the Civil War. Totals are not given and no record as to nationality, birth or birth-place of any of the whole number. In most cases the Rhode Island residence is noted. From these data it is absolutely impossible to determine how many men Rhode Island contributed to the War. It can be safely stated that the State furnished the full quota of men and supplies that she was called to render. The population of Rhode Island, in 1860, was 174,620, and the State was credited with furnishing 23,699 men in the Union Army and Navy, though the number that were of the State's people is unknown, since many enlistments in Rhode Island came from other States. Under the eight calls of President Lincoln for militia, the quota was 18,898. The aggregate reduced to a three years' standard was 17,866—a total of one-tenth of the total population of the State.

At the close of the Civil War, the surviving men returned to resume the various duties of citizens, as opportunities opened to them. They were welcomed as they deserved by a grateful commonwealth and on them civil and military honors were bestowed lavishly. Gen. Burnside was elected to the United States Senate, January 26, 1875, and on June 8, 1880, was reelected by a vote of 79 to 30 scattering. Gen. Charles R. Brayton was postmaster of Providence from 1874 to 1879. The lucrative offices of the State and towns passed by natural gravitation of public sentiment to the men who had saved the Nation, and the wisdom of these

acts was proved by the value of the services rendered. The defenders of a State could be trusted with the honors and emoluments, consequent on their fidelity to a great trust.

On September 16, 1871, the State dedicated at Providence a monument to the soldiers and sailors of Rhode Island in the Civil War. On June 10, 1886, the town of South Kingstown dedicated a soldiers' and sailors' monument. On July 4, 1887, an equestrian statue was dedicated to commemorate the services of Gen. Ambrose E. Burnside. On May 30, 1888, a soldiers' and sailors' monument was dedicated at Central Falls. On May 14, 1891, the Rhode Island Soldiers' Home was opened at Bristol, Rhode Island, and was dedicated May 21. On September 30, 1899, a soldiers' and sailors' monument was dedicated in St. Francis Cemetery, Pawtucket. On April 30, 1903, a monument was dedicated at Andersonville, Georgia, in commemoration of the endurance of Rhode Island soldiers who suffered cruel imprisonment. On October 7, 1903, Battle Flag Day was celebrated, when the flags and colors were removed from the old to the new State House. On November 11, 1908, a monument was dedicated at Vicksburg National Military Park, Vicksburg, Mississippi, in honor of Rhode Island soldiers, who participated in the siege of Vicksburg, which surrendered July 4, 1863. On October 6, 1909, a monument was dedicated at New Berne, North Carolina, in commemoration of the Rhode Island soldiers and sailors who lost their lives in the campaigns in that State. A statue of Col. Henry H. Young has been erected on a massive boulder in the Park, in front of the Union Railroad Station, Providence. A statue of Col. Henry T. Sisson was also erected in Little Compton, Rhode Island, in 1917.

At the close of the war, the financial records of the towns and the State were footed and it was found that the thirty-three towns had expended a sum total of \$1,622,288.96; that the State had repaid to the towns \$465,690.00, making the net expenditures of the towns \$1,156,598.96. Providence had expended \$429,696.60, the largest, and Jamestown \$788.50, the least.

The State of Rhode Island expended \$5,344,173.19. The aggregate of State, cities and towns was \$6,500,772.15.

It was generally feared that the experiences and influences of army life would have a demoralizing effect on the men who should return and that the characters, as subjected to camp and field duties, would be lowered far below normal standards of civilian life. In order to ascertain the quality of the citizenship of the returned soldiers a circular letter of inquiry was prepared by the Adjutant General of the State and sent to the mayors of the cities and the presidents of town councils of the towns, soliciting their opinions relative to the general character of the soldier-



BRONZE FIGURE OF RHODE ISLAND BOY SCOUT

citizens as compared to their character prior to enlistment in their country's service. Twenty-nine cities and towns replied. Burrillville, Cumberland reported that army life had been demoralizing to the men as a whole. Barrington, Coventry, Cranston, Charlestown, East Greenwich, East Providence, Jamestown, Little Compton, Middletown, North Providence, New Shoreham, Richmond, Smithfield and Warwick replied that the men were as good as when they went away—no better, no worse, except in a few individuals both worse and better.

Bristol, Gloucester, Newport, North Kingstown, Providence, Pawtucket, Portsmouth, Scituate, Tiverton, Warren, Westerly and West Greenwich replied that the general standard of morals and of citizenship had been improved by army service. While these reports are not expert evidence they tend towards the conclusion that habits formed in youth are sheet anchors of character in early manhood, even amidst the demoralizing influence of war. The idealism of a conflict for freeing a race of slaves and for preserving the constitution and union of the Federated States was the splendid goal of a generation of freemen, whose lives were consecrated to a true Democracy of states and citizens.



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